

The Revolution.

THE TRUE REPUBLIC.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

VOL. V.—NO. 20.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 19, 1870.

WHOLE NO. 124.

The Revolution.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, \$3 A YEAR.

NEW YORK CITY SUBSCRIBERS, \$3.20.

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Poetry.

GOD IS LOVE.

Who fathoms the Eternal Thought?
Who talks of scheme and plan?
The Lord is God! He needeth not
The poor device of man.

I walk with bare, hushed feet the ground
Ye tread with boldness shod;
I dare not fix with mete and bound
The love and power of God.

Ye praise his justice; even such
His pitying love I deem;
Ye seek a king; I fain would touch
The robe that hath no seam.

Ye seek the curse which overbroods
A world of pain and loss;
I hear our Lord's beatitudes
And prayer upon the cross.

More than your schoolmen teach, within
Myself, alas, I know;
Too dark ye cannot paint the sin,
Too small the merit show.

I bow my forehead to the dust,
I veil my eyes for shame,
And urge, in trembling self-distrust,
A prayer without a claim.

I see the wrong that round me lies,
I feel the guilt within;
I hear, with groans and travail-cries,
The world confess its sin.

Yet in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed star my spirit clings;
I know that God is good!

Not mine to look when cherubim
And seraphs may not see,
But nothing can be good in him
Which evil is in me.

The wrong that pains my soul below
I dare not throne above;
I know not of his base—I know
His goodness and his love.

I dimly guess from blessings known,
Of greater out of sight,
And with the chastened Psalmist, own
His judgments, too, are right.

I long for household voices gone,
For vanished smiles I long,
But God hath led my dear ones on,
And He can do no wrong.

I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise;
Assured alone that life and death
His mercy underlies.

And if my heart and flesh are weak
To bear an untried pain,
The bruised reed He will not break,
But strengthen and sustain.

No offering of my own I have,
Nor works my faith to prove;
I can but give the gifts he gave,
And plead his love for love.

And so beside the silent sea
I wait the muffled oar;
No harm from him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

I know not where his islands lift
Their fronted, balms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond his love and care.

O brothers! if my faith is vain,
If hopes like these betray,
Pray for me that my feet may gain
The sure and safer way.

And Thou, O Lord! by whom are seen
Thy creatures as they be,
Forgive me if too close I lean
My human heart on Thee!

J. G. WHITTIER.

ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSO- CIATION.

THE annual meeting of the National Woman's Suffrage Association was held on Tuesday, 10th of May, 1870, at Apollo Hall, in the city of New York. The President, Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, occupied the chair.

On the platform were Mrs. Robert Dale Owen, Mrs. P. W. Davis, Rev. Mrs. Hanaford, Mrs. Phelps, Miss Cozzens, Mrs. Hallock, Mrs. Blake, Mrs. Gage, Mrs. Crosby, Mrs. Elmes, Mrs. Griffing, Mrs. Minor, and Miss Anthony.

Mrs. Hanaford opened the meeting with prayer, asking spiritual guidance and blessing.

Mrs. Wilbour read the call for the meeting, after which Mrs. Stanton announced that the report of the Business Committee would be deferred till a later period of the meeting. The farewell address of the retiring President followed, and was listened to with the most profound interest, only interrupted by the most enthusiastic applause, long continued and oft repeated.

MRS. STANTON'S ADDRESS.

In response to the call of the "National Woman Suffrage Association," read by our Secretary, we have assembled here to-day to consider the progress of our cause throughout the country, and the best mode of pressing forward the work in the future. I am glad to announce that delegates from many states are here ready to report what has been done in their several localities. The call contains one point of great importance, to which I would invite your serious consideration. The Executive Committee recommend the friends of Woman Suffrage throughout the country to concentrate their efforts on a Sixteenth Amendment of the Federal constitution rather than by special action in their several states. There are two ways in which

the women of this nation can secure the right of Suffrage. One is to urge the measure, step by step, year by year, before state legislatures, demanding amendments to their several constitutions. The other is to besiege Congress at once, making Woman Suffrage a disturbing element in the councils of the nation until politicians shall be compelled to make it a party question, and thus secure its success. By the first method we should not only have the labor of going into every school district, town and ward, to teach ignorant, unthinking women that they need the ballot, and the men of their class how to use it, but we should place educated, refined women, such as grace this platform to-day, in the humiliating position of suppliants at the feet of serfs, peasants, slaves, paupers, drunkards, knaves—all the ragged, ignorant riff-raff, native and foreign, in the country, praying them at their good pleasure to grant the mothers, wives and daughters of this republic, the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens. This will be our position in appealing to the people of the several states. Let those who have the stomach for such work (I confess I have not) canvass every state from Maine to California, and humbly ask Tom, Dick, and Harry, Patrick, Havis, Yung-Tung and Sambo, to recognize such women as Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Susan B. Anthony, and Anna Dickinson as their political equals. Let them listen to their puerile objections and parley with them on their low ground until stung into that dignified self-respect, in which it is the first need and duty of every woman to-day to intrench herself. This slow and humiliating method of appealing to the masses is the one point in our future work to which I ask special attention, because it is one few men see or feel, and the one, too, on which women can be the most easily roused to a sense of their degradation. By the other method, in doing the national work, we should hold protracted conventions in Washington with hearings before joint and special committees; have our demands considered by the picked men of the nation—such as Sumner, Conkling, Trumbull, Pomeroy, Thurman, Carpenter, Butler, Brooks, Eldridge, Bingham, Lawrence, to have our rights debated on the broad principles of justice—on the true theory of our government—not tried by the traditions and prejudices of the great unlettered and unwashed masses. Then, too, there is a poetic justice in compelling the same class of representative "white males" who in the beginning put up the barriers against woman's enfranchisement to be the honored instruments now to take them down. I know that our republican brethren are growing very conscientious just now, lest in enfranchising the women by a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal constitution they might violate the time-honored state rights doctrine of the democracy. If, however, on the eve of the coming Presidential campaign, they could be made to believe that they could control the votes of the women

as certainly as those of the colored men, possibly their scruples might be allayed a second time. Beside the two modes of securing Woman Suffrage to which I have referred, some of our friends suggest still another—an appeal to the courts. They say there is nothing in our constitutions forbidding women to vote to-day; that we should go to the polls and insist on exercising the right. If denied, then test the law and force a decision of the whole question in the Supreme Court of the United States. This mode, too, like the appeal to Congress, has the advantage of referring the decision of our rights to the best minds of the nation. As the Woman's Suffrage Association of Missouri have taken the necessary steps to this end, and as their President, Mrs. Frances Minor, is present with us, and will speak on this point some time during the Convention, I shall leave her to elaborate the idea. You have heard Mrs. Wilbour's very able report of the steady progress that has been made from time to time on this question. As it is proposed to merge the society into a broader Union organization, and as at the close of this session I retire from the official position that I have held many years as President of national committees and associations, I wish for the encouragement of the new workers in our cause to take a brief view of the grand steps achieved in the last quarter of a century toward the recognition of woman's individual sovereignty. As the faith of even the greatest souls will sometimes fail to penetrate the thick clouds of darkness in which our mortal lives are inclosed, it is wise, occasionally, to pause and contrast the present with the past that in seeing what has been accomplished we may gain new hope and inspiration for the work before us. When, in 1848, Lucretia Mott and myself, with a few other friends, called the first Woman's Rights Convention ever held in the country, by the statute laws of all the states of the Union, except Louisiana, where the Napoleonic code prevailed, the civil and political condition of married women was as degraded as that of the slaves on the southern plantations. Alike, they had no rights of person, property, wages, children. In fact, the spirit of the old common law of England reflected in our codes, held all married women as slaves in theory, and, save only by the humanity of husbands in special cases, in practice also. The husband and wife having been declared by Blackstone to be one (and that one the husband), all the marriage and divorce laws were based on that idea, and the customs of barbarous ages were enforced in the nineteenth century. To-day woman's individual sovereignty in the state is partially recognized. She has the right, in many states, to annul oppressive marriage contracts. She can hold property, do business in her own name, control her earnings, keep a bank account, make a contract or a will, sue and be sued, sit on juries, be post master, school commissioner, notary public. In Kansas, she can vote on schools and license laws, and in Wyoming on all questions—holding there the ballot in her own right, that badge of nobility in this country, that sceptre of power in the hand of an American citizen. With a prescience and persistence that seem like special inspiration, the right blow was struck at the state in the very first convention, resting our claims not on the granting of certain favors or the redress of certain grievances, but in demanding at the outset full political equality with the men of the nation, as will be seen in the following resolution: "Resolved, That it is the duty of the

women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." This resolution I penned and presented in opposition to the friends of the movement in the convention. Even good Lucretia Mott said it was an extravagant demand that would make our whole movement ridiculous. Though I had never spoken in public before, yet, by the help of Frederick Douglass (whose moral sense had been quickened by the property qualification for colored men in the State of New York), I carried that resolution. Over twenty years of education have shown us that that resolution touched the very centre of woman's wrongs, and over-topped all the rest presented on that occasion. It struck the keynote of woman's freedom the world over, and to day, leading men and women, priests, politicians, philosophers, and philanthropists in all nations and a hundred thousand petitions in the British Parliament echo back that demand which when first uttered was laughed at from Maine to Louisiana. That the battle in the State is nearly fought is seen in the fact that priests and politicians, those who know how to organize popular thought and lead numbers, are already vying with each other to see who to-day shall stand at the helm of this movement. The province of those who lead thought differs widely from those who lead numbers, as new views of life must ever be opening up to the true reformer. Obedient to eternal law, he presses forward, and the work that in faith and hope he begins is ever finished by other hands. So let the pioneer workers in this reform gracefully give place, and leave the marshalling of the forces to younger leaders. There is a wilderness beyond the heights we hold to-day where skilled hands and brave hearts may find abundant work to do. In the church, too, woman's individual sovereignty is recognized. The Methodist denomination has taken the initiative and fundamental step towards woman's full equality in the marriage relation, where the last and hardest battle for freedom remains to be fought. By a late ecclesiastical cannon that church has abolished the word "obey" from its marriage ceremony. All praise to the followers of Wesley! I wonder if the reverend fathers see the deep significance and far-reaching consequence of the act. In extending to women the right to vote on the question of "lay delegation," the Methodist Church has taken another step in the right direction. In many of the churches women are permitted to vote on all business matters, to speak and pray in their meetings, to fill the office of deacon, and even to be ordained as pastors of congregations (to draw salaries), and administer the ordinances. To sing in the choir and play on the organ are privileges they have long enjoyed, as Paul never chanced to say, "I suffer not a woman to sing in the churches." Leading minds of the church are now giving new and more liberal interpretations of the Bible, recognizing the equality of the sexes, making the declarations of Paul and Moses subordinate to the greater facts of progressive humanity. Twenty years ago, when we made the first demand that Christian women should enjoy equal rights in the church, the clergy and religious journals made one howl all over the country. To-day, where equal rights are not awarded, the women are in a condition of chronic rebellion. The last stronghold of woman's degradation, where her heaviest chains are gilded and unseen, where the Satan of lust hides mid luxury, silks and diamonds, is in the sacred enclosure of

home. Political equality and religious liberty have always preceded social freedom; hence the subjection of woman to man as dependent. Mistress or wife is the last form of slavery that will be abolished from the earth. In demanding for women the rights of citizenship and saints in the state and the church we have been paving the way all along for the higher and far more important right—the sovereignty of her own person in the home. Conservatives—who always see the last result of a new measure more clearly than the Radicals themselves, who, in their earnestness and enthusiasm for principle, ignore consequences—said, long ago, "this Woman's Rights movement is the inauguration of a social revolution which will abolish the institution of marriage!" That is the objection the friends of Woman Suffrage are obliged to meet every day; that is the one that pursued our Boston friends in their late campaign in Vermont; that is the one that Miss Anthony and I have met a thousand times in the West this winter; and that is the one that most of the new workers in our cause declare, "We have nothing to do with, and will not meet nor answer." Fifteen years ago Lucy Stone struck a bold blow at the old institution when she accepted the civil obligation of the marriage relation under protest, repudiating the name, even of her legal husband—so sacredly did she hold her individual sovereignty against all human laws and customs. When the divorce laws were under consideration in the New York Legislature in 1861, in a hearing before the Judiciary Committee, another blow was struck in the same direction that came near making New York as free soil for woman as Indiana and Connecticut are to-day. On that occasion Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, and myself pressed the justice of the bill then pending, which provided divorce for cruel treatment, desertion, drunkenness, etc. So convincing and impressive were the arguments and appeals, that the bill lacked but very few votes of being carried. Did any of us protest against marriage *per se*? Certainly not. Only against the present form that makes man master, woman slave. The only revolution that we would inaugurate is to make woman a self-supporting, dignified, independent, equal partner with man in the state, the church, the home. One logically and naturally follows the other; and the ballot is the key to all. The true social relation of man and woman is the momentous problem with which earnest minds are struggling to-day; and though cowards and knaves turn from the subject and try to suppress the discussion before the awful facts of life, we all stand hardened or appalled. The social vice, with its festering, wide-spread corruption, disease and death of soul and body alike, our asylums for the dumb, the blind, the maimed, the halt, the idiot, the lunatic, the criminal; the wholesale infanticide, seduction, rape, divorce, incest in high places; lily hands strangling the moral monstrosities of a forced maternity, wives running to Indiana and Connecticut like slaves to their Canada; paramours shot in broad daylight, our courts of justice, and leading journals with all sorts of vulgarity and knavery, made the hunting-ground of refined, cultivated women, who have dared to feed and shelter fugitives of their own sex from marriages worse than plantation slavery—all these things and ten times more too horrible to consider, like hideous ghosts of the outraged sentiments, affections and ambitions of womanhood, rise up on every side, proclaiming that the dynasty of brute force must now yield to moral powers and

woman be set free—the absolute sovereign of her own person, her own affections, and her own home. In view of the moral slough in which the race is floundering to-day, pray do not insult the nineteenth century with any further talk of the headship of man in the family; for by his selfish indulgences, gross appetites, and bloated vices, he has forfeited all claim to that position. Consider, for example, the behavior of the leading lawyers and editors in the McFarland-Richardson trial, to which the attention of the entire nation is called to-day; listen to the opinions of men in society and at home, as well as in our courts, and you will find that judges, lawyers, clergymen, journalists, all alike talk as if pure friendship between the sexes were impossible, as if every husband owned the wife by his side without the least respect as to her feelings towards him whatsoever. Horace Greeley has well said:

Every scoundrel who looks upon woman as an instrument of his lust, and never aided one in distress, except with intent to make her his prey, rushes instinctively to the conclusion that Richardson was a seducer. He wants no evidence of this but such as he finds in his own breast. And every one accustomed to look on a wife merely as a species of property, whereof the title cannot be alienated by abuse any more than, if she were a horse or a dog, naturally inclines to the same verdict.

For which noble sentence I pardon Horace Greeley for his flunkeyism for the last four years. Women with awaking pride and self-respect will not submit to the tyranny in the marriage relation they endured a century ago. They may be dragged into the courts, a spectacle to men and angels, there to be grossly questioned by vulgar, unfeeling lawyers; they may have their children torn from them, their virtue doubted, be compelled to earn their own bread in the garrets and cellars of the metropolis: but when they once understand that their affections are more holy and binding than man's laws, rather than live with men they loathe and abhor, they will sacrifice ease, luxury, respectability; trample creeds, codes and customs under their feet; and with their own hands sunder the ties like withes that bind them in false relations. Men may as well begin to shape their ideas, lives and laws in harmony with this new development of womanhood. Shooting paramours, divorce cases, and four weeks testimony on points that concern not the world to know, spread out by our daily press, serve only to rouse the indignation of every woman who has two grains of pride to white heat against the whole idea on which all these prosecutions are based—man's right of property in woman. Southern laws protected the master in shooting any one who tampered with his slave and sent him a freeman to Canada. Public sentiment said the slave was contented and happy, drudging in the rice-fields, with stripes on his back, to come and go at the beck of his owner; that nothing in his own soul could possibly suggest that any change whatever in his condition might be desirable; he could never dream that beyond his narrow horizon of darkness and despair there might be a world of light and freedom that was not only his right but his duty to secure. By northern laws, as seen in the cases of Sickles, Cole and probably McFarland, the husband may shoot the man that tampers with his wife; she is supposed to love and adore her husband, and, like the slave, to be contented and happy under all circumstances—happiness being the normal condition of slaves and women. No matter what the character of the husband—though a bloated drunkard and diseased liber-

tine, leaving his wife and children in poverty and rags to suffer hunger in a New York garret, victims to his daily outbursts of brutality and passion, or of his stolid indifference or neglect—let him, in fact, be and do as he chooses, no other man shall have mercy on these helpless ones; and the woman shall continue to be his wife as long as he lives, say the laws of New York, though her flesh crawl, and her soul sicken every time he enters her presence. Such is the popular idea of the sacredness of the marriage institution. Do we not, O women of the republic! need to raise a higher, purer, better standard than this, on which to base the home, the church and the state? for the family underlies all other institutions, and how can you cement its ties but in the purity of both man and woman? In the present degradation of the mother of the race we have the cause of our social anarchy, religious bigotry, and political corruption. The art, the stratagem, the intrigue, the cowardice, the self-abnegation—the cardinal vices of our social life—the necessary weapons of a subject class, are reflected in our theology, commerce and legislation. The doubt, fear, sorrow, humiliation, despair, that oppress the minds of so many unhappy mothers, are handed down, reappearing in every generation in weakness, deformity, depravity; in idiots, lunatics, criminals; in the unfortunate victims that crowd our prisons and asylums. All special reforms are hopeless, surface work, but dipping out the ocean; and there can be no vital change until we understand and observe the immutable laws that govern the most sacred of all relations. John Stuart Mill says that one great result he looks for in the enfranchisement of woman is an end of the present reckless propagation of the race by which so many evils are multiplied to-day. In closing, I would say a word in defence of Susan B. Anthony and myself against the complaints of our Boston friends. They say we are injudicious oftentimes in word and deed, saying many things that should not be said, doing many things that should not be done; to all of which we plead guilty? and ask, what man or woman who has done anything in this world must not honestly make the same confession. But in the twenty years of faithful service in the cause of woman, who can point to one duty left undone, one deadly breach not filled, one point of attack not seen and met? True, we have oftentimes rushed into the battle unarmed and unequipped, with the legislature, the pulpit, the press, temperance associations, educational conventions, agricultural fairs, national labor congresses, persistently maintaining the right of woman to an equal place and voice in these assemblies; and, grant that our outgoings and incomings were not always just as Mrs. Grundy thought they should be, what of it? Our Revolutionary fathers fought some of their battles with hoes and pitchforks, and are not our liberties the sweeter to-day for the irregularities into which the enthusiasm and necessities of the fathers betrayed them? Perhaps George Washington, in an hour of need, might not have refused to fight Great Britain beside George Francis Train, or to use his money in starting a paper to advocate the cause of the colonies. Let us rejoice in what is done, no matter for blunders—blunders are human. It is a huge blunder that the majority of the people in the world were ever born; but nevertheless, let us rejoice over the minority and make the best of what remains. These are not the times to carp and criticise one another, but

to be grateful for the signs of progress in the old world and the new. With the right to vote, hold office, and sit on juries in the Territories here, and a bill for Woman's Suffrage passed to a second reading by a large majority in the British Parliament; with the good news that has just come to us from the youngest civilization in the West, already echoed back from Old England's shore; verily, the new day for which we have so long waited and watched is dawning, and lo! the sunlight on the wild mountain tops of Wyoming is gilding the venerable dome of St. Paul.

Mrs. Stanton closed her speech leaving the entire audience in profound admiration at her daring, outspoken utterance of grand and noble principles. Before taking her seat Mrs. Stanton introduced with much commendation Miss Poëbe Cozzens, a law student of St. Louis, the favorite of the Washington Convention.

Miss Cozzens said, that she had read law within the last two years, until her whole soul had been moved to indignation. She referred to several disagreeable cases she read in the papers, which had specially moved her. Among them was that of the woman who had beaten her husband and thrown scalding water at him. The paper said that "this she devil was only fined \$10." She had never heard the epithet "he devil" applied to brutal man. At the jubilee of the Fifteenth Amendment in St. Louis, she had looked in vain for the names of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Abby Kelley Foster, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Mary Grew, on the banners of the freedmen.

Miss Anthony announced the following persons as a committee on resolutions, Dr. R. T. Hallock, Mrs. M. E. Gage, Mrs. C. B. Wilbour.

ADDRESS OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Miss Anthony was next introduced, and spoke at some length. Among other things she said:

For years we sought in vain to obtain the co-operation of radical republicans in our efforts to enfranchise woman. They would not listen to us nor help us. We sent them our petitions to be presented before Congress. They put our petitions under the table. Then we turned to the other party. We sent our petitions to the democratic members. I own up. I wrote a letter to the Hon. James Brooks, and sent it with a copy of a petition which had been sent to a republican member, but never presented. I asked Mr. Brooks to present the petition to the House, and Brooks did do it, and the petition and letter were printed in the *Congressional Globe*, and will go down to future generations as our record. That was my crime of going over to the democratic party; and if ever I get a chance to make such a going over again, so help me heaven, I will do it; and I want to give you notice of it. (Applause.) The second crime of the same sort I committed was in this wise: Mrs. Stanton and I got up a strong letter and went before the democratic convention which sat in Tammany Hall two years ago, and there it was read before that great convention by Horatio Seymour. In that letter, I asked the democracy to put in their platform a plank indorsing Woman Suffrage. They did not do it. Yet it was not a failure, friends. That letter was published first by the New York papers, and afterwards by the press in every state in the Union, and one hundred thousand dollars would not have secured the advertisement for the cause of Woman Suffrage which that single strategic movement of mine secured. There never was an act which more thoroughly

roused the women of this nation than that act. And now, my friends, I am going for union. This afternoon we are going to hold a business meeting, at which we wish to see friends of Woman Suffrage from all parts of the country and from all organizations, and at which, if you do as I wish and advise, you will accept the proposition made at the Fifth Avenue Hotel conference meeting. For twenty years of hard work I have stood at the front. I, of all engaged in this cause, have been the only one who has been loose all this time. All the others, even Mrs. Stanton, have had their marriages and their homes and other interests and other necessities, to engage their attention. I only have given every moment and every energy to this movement. My name has been attached to the calls for all the conventions for the last fifteen years; I have written all the letters, made all the arrangements, and begged all the money. And now, to-day, when the whole world is giving their allegiance to our principles, I do not wish to stand in the way of the younger workers who are flocking into the field; I do not ask for any peculiar veneration or respect, so that they will work for the object I have toiled so long to achieve and carry it forward to victory. I say here, in the sight of Heaven, that I care not though you should all despise me personally, and tread me in the dust under your feet. And I beg of you, as you love this cause to accept the overtures that are made for peace. I believe that this association is truly national. Seventeen states were represented at its formation, and the great body of the people were satisfied with it. But all are not satisfied. And I want to say to our friends of the other association, if I can give up this society, which I helped to form, with which I have been associated so long, which I still believe to be a legitimate national association, and the one round which all the friends of Woman Suffrage ought to rally; if to-day I can do that, is it much to ask that you, few of whom have been so long and so entirely devoted to this cause as I have been; most of whom, unlike me, have had other objects and hopes in life; I say, if I can give up my pet association, my woman's whim—my woman's obstinacy, if you will—if I can do this for the sake of peace, is it much to ask that you should do the same? I will not be a stumbling-block in the way of Woman Suffrage. And with this I close, begging you all to be present this afternoon, and to come prepared to accept the proposition made in good faith by Theodore Tilton, Lucretia Mott, and Mrs. Bullard.

Miss Anthony retired, and Miss Cozzens said that much as she admired the self-abnegation expressed by Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, she felt that their friends must rally around them at this time. "They have felled the trees and cleared the forests—shall they be set aside for these new-comers? We feel that they must be at the head of our Star-Spangled Banner." (Applause.)

Mrs. Stanton announced that a Business Meeting would be held in the hall at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at which time none but members and delegates would be present.

The public meeting then adjourned till 8 o'clock, p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION—BUSINESS MEETING.

Mrs. Stanton took the chair, and stated that the object of this meeting was to consider the proposition made by Mr. Tilton, in the Fifth Avenue Conference, but before calling upon Mr.

Tilton to state the proposition, she asked the Secretary to ascertain how many states and territories were represented in the meeting. As the Secretary called the names of the separate states and territories, nineteen persons responded. Mr. Tilton then made a statement of the proposition to unite all the friends of Woman's Suffrage into one society with officers from both the National and American Associations.

On the motion to consider Mr. Tilton's proposition, considerable discussion arose, participated in by Mrs. Burleigh, Mrs. Cutler, of Ohio, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Blake, Mrs. Hazlett of Mich., Mrs. Leggett, Mrs. Hallock, and several of the delegates from various parts of the country. There was much feeling shown on the part of the younger workers against any association that did not put either Mrs. Stanton, or Miss Anthony at its head. This feeling was allayed by the assertion of both Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, that they would neither of them accept the position. Voted to accept Mr. Tilton's proposition to call the new society the Union Woman's Suffrage Society. Voted to adopt the constitution offered by Mr. Tilton.

Theodore Tilton was elected President and a committee was appointed to prepare a list of officers to be reported at the Wednesday morning session. The meeting then adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Union Woman's Suffrage Society held its first meeting at Apollo Hall, on Tuesday evening, May 10, Theodore Tilton, the President, in the chair.

Mr. Tilton made the opening speech of the evening, which was heartily responded to by frequent applause.

REMARKS OF THEODORE TILTON.

MRS. PRESIDENT: Perhaps I cannot better respond to your courteous salutation than by speaking to you frankly a few words, for I have only a few words to say, showing exactly the history of this whole measure for the reunion, reconstruction, of the existing associations having for their object the enfranchisement of woman. Personally, for my own part, I have never been a great stickler for organizations of any kind. I have never been a member in active service of any political body. I never was appointed on any political committee. I never attended a political caucus. There is something in my temperament quite averse to organizations of any kind. Indeed, the only philanthropic society of any sort or name or description of which I ever consented to be a member at all, was the Anti-Slavery Society that lately gave up the ghost in this very chamber. Nobody has been more thoroughly surprised than myself to find how I have been drawn, somewhat against my will and only through a sense of duty, into a proposition to become a member of some of these organizations, or rather into a proposition to construct an association that should be so broad in all its foundations that it could include all the friends of Woman Suffrage throughout the land. When the National Woman's Suffrage Association, of which you yourself was President, was formed, I was not a member. I was not present, indeed. I was not aware of its formation until some time after the corner-stone was laid. If you will permit me to state very frankly the reason I could not join it, it was because, having been educated by yourself into opposition to all aristocracy of sex, I could not consent to become a member of any association which so ungallantly

forbore on my own sex. Providence created me a man, and, although it might be pleasanter to be a woman, still it is not my fault (laughter), and I do not think the association ought to have taken advantage of that and put upon us a slur. So the National Association went by, and I did not feel at liberty to join it. Then came the association formed at Cleveland. I understood some of the circumstances of its formation. I will not undertake the difficult task of reciting the exact process of all the details of that organization. I do not believe any statement that I could make of the reasons that led to the apparent necessity for the formation of that society, would be accepted either by yourselves or by them. Indeed, I have never seen any true statement in regard to the formation of that society. I looked at once to the National Society on the right hand; I looked to the American on the left. I joined neither. I presume in that respect I represented a great section of the community. Last winter I travelled through thirteen states, and I everywhere met friends of the cause of Woman's Suffrage, who asked to me, in every state of my travels, "To which of these two associations do you belong?" My unvarying answer was, "I do not belong to either," and the unvarying response was, "Neither do I." It is true I found here and there some members of the American; but I everywhere found hearty, noble, generous men and women, who had been actuated by the same reasons that had governed me, who said they could not go into the National, they could not go into the American, and who were undetermined and said to themselves: "I do not know why I cannot go into the one, and I do not know why I cannot go into the other." Going in all the states, I found multitudes of new friends, who during the last few months had had their attention drawn to this subject. The first question with them was, "Is there any organization to belong to?" Then came the subsequent question, "What is the difference between the two?" In every town and village through which I travelled, the question was asked me, "What is the difference between these two organizations?" and I could not undertake to answer that question. Indeed, the inquiry at last became something of a bore. As I said, I never have been a stickler for organization, never have been a member. I have always had the newspaper and the lyceum. I have not found it necessary myself to be a member of any organization, but I became convinced in travelling through the west—I said through thirteen states—I believe fifteen—I became thoroughly convinced that the great number of the people interested in the woman's cause needed an organization. Some were drawn, through personal sympathy to yourself and Miss Anthony, to the National; others, through sympathy to Mrs. Stone, Livermore, etc., were drawn to the other. But the great majority of the people did not know to which organization to belong. I confess for the old-time workers in this cause I have that feeling of reverence which would compel me almost, like Sir Walter Raleigh, to cast my mantle in front of them as they walk the street, and I regret those circumstances, which I shall not explain, which to-day present all these noble workers in the cause not in one solid phalanx, but in two organizations. I believe I came home from my six months of travel with a full understanding of the general sentiment of all the workers for Woman Suffrage among those people; which was, however much

Foreign Correspondence.

LETTER LV.

MANCHESTER, April, 1870.

INJUSTICE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

It is with much regret that I am compelled to place these words at the head of my letter this week. After the noble step forward taken by the University of Edinburgh, at the beginning of its last session, the backsliding policy which it has now adopted is doubly disappointing. But whatever may be our indignation at this new injustice and the miserable monopoly it seeks to perpetuate, we may console ourselves with the conviction, sure as a philosophical necessity, that the temporary wrong now inflicted will lead ultimately and ere long to a more universal recognition of women's educational rights. Fifty-eight Edinburgh graduates cannot counteract the laws of nature which are the laws of God, nor stem the tide of human progress which is according to his will. In my last letter I informed you of the decision of the Senatus confirming the exclusion of Miss Pechey from the Hope Scholarship which she had fairly won. This discreditable course has led to the question of opening the University practically to women.

At the Council meeting held last week Prof. Masson pointed out that under the present arrangements of giving instruction to women, in separate classes, great inconvenience was imposed on women students of medicine, as well as on the Professors in connection with instruction of such students.

The difficulties are so evident that it is now nearly certain that women cannot obtain a complete course of instruction in medical education in Edinburgh under existing conditions. Therefore, with reference to the lady students in the University, Professor Masson proposed the following motion:

That, as the present arrangements for the medical instruction of women in the University impose great and unnecessary inconvenience on the women who are students, and also on professors, and may, if continued, even nullify the resolution of the University admitting women to the study of medicine, the General Council recommend to the University Court that women desiring to study medicine be admitted to the medical classes as other students are, and on the same terms, except in cases where the Court may see special reasons why the instruction should be separate.

Professor Masson then analyzed the results of the several examinations, and showed that actually Miss Pechey was first of all her peers, men and women, in the Chemistry class, which consisted of 232 students; that Miss Jex Blake had won honors, and the other four ladies had obtained high positions. Of the 137 students in Prof. Bennet's Physiology class, four of the five professional ladies were on the honors list. Prof. Masson proceeded to say:

Surely this was a state of affairs encouraging them to proceed in giving greater facilities, rather than presenting any reason why they should draw back or frustrate what they had already arranged. Now, at the present moment, the lady students were subject to great and unnecessary inconveniences. In the first place, they were subject to great extra expense. In one of the classes they attended they were admitted on payment of the ordinary fees; but, in another, five ladies had to pay £60 among them—a much larger sum than had to be paid by five male students. Then it was found that they could not receive instruction in anatomy, that arrangements could not be made for that absolutely essential instruction, including the hire of rooms, and so on, at less than 100 guineas, if even for that, among the five. Such expense was absolutely prohibitive in the case of many students. But a second inconvenience was, that under the present arrangement ladies were subjected to the disagreeable labor of canvassing pro-

fessors in order to get instruction at all. Was that right?

Was it to be endured that the University should profess to admit women to the study of medicine, and at the same time see them fishing, if by any chance they could procure the necessary instruction? Again, while some professors refused on various grounds to give instruction, others who were quite willing could not afford the tax upon their time which an additional class must impose, even if they were paid by lady students eight or ten times the sum paid by gentlemen. Sir James Simpson, for example, who was eminently friendly, could not possibly give a separate course. Dr. Allman, who was not unfriendly, absolutely refused a separate class, on the ground that his health would not permit him to lecture doubly. Prof. Spence, who, he thought, was willing, said he could not afford to give a separate class. Prof. Turner, whom he should be unwilling to rank among the unwilling, told the ladies he could not give a separate class from want of time and want of separate space. Dr. Handyside, an extra-mural teacher, and friendly, made a similar statement. All this proved that even the friendly professors—some of them at all events—could not by possibility do what was asked under the present arrangement. Of the professors who had at a sacrifice to themselves volunteered to instruct ladies, one at least—Dr. Crum-Brown—had declared that he could not do it next session. Hence the arrangements as they stood simply frustrated the intention expressed by the University through its various bodies. Then, again, in consequence of the present arrangement, Miss Pechey had been deprived of a scholarship, and consequently all women were bereaved of the encouragement that would have been afforded by her obtaining that prize. As to the certificates given to lady students, although it was carried—inconsistently, he thought, with the decision as to the scholarship—that they should receive certificates in the ordinary form, it had actually been a question under the existing arrangement whether they should not receive certificates which, he believed, would have disqualified them from graduating elsewhere. Nor were the inconveniences confined to the ladies. The professors, who through good will had given instruction to lady students, had done so at positive loss to themselves, and they would perhaps submit themselves to a wrong imputation of a want of generosity if they did not proceed. Then, individual professors, and he might say the whole Senatus, were subject to misconception. It was a bad thing for the University that it was driven to the vast unseemliness of doing an act intrinsically ugly, and justly most unpopular—that it was driven by the existing arrangement to deprive Miss Pechey of the place to which she stood entitled. (Applause.) He was ashamed, as an atom in the University, of having it reported, perhaps without knowledge of the facts, in the South—in the *Times*, and elsewhere—that the University of Edinburgh had done this glaringly ugly and detestable thing. (Laughter.) Then, male students were subject to the inconvenience of having it said that they required to be protected, and he believed they would gladly say—"Abolish this arrangement, and when Miss Pechey, or those like her, take places among us, don't, because she is a woman, put a man in her place." (Laughter.) On the whole, he thought the University was bound to set the matter right. They must do something; they could not afford that the University should be subject to indignation or derision as pretending to do a thing and really not doing it. (Hear, hear.) They must do what he proposed to do, and he believed there was only one way of doing it. The only alternative to the method proposed in his motion would be to compel the professors to have separate classes, and that could not be done. Let it be remembered that this proposal was substantially the proposal of a majority of the Medical Faculty and of the Senatus, and that it was in deference to the opinion of the University Court that the present arrangement came to be considered. And was there any objection intrinsically to the proposal of mixed classes? He really saw none. Did not men and women go to church together? (Laughter.) Did not men and women attend lectures on various subjects together? did they not in Edinburgh attend together the lectures at the Philosophical Institution?—(hear, hear)—were they not there lectured to by medical professors on scientific subjects? and was there anything in the nature of botany or chemistry or various other subjects—(A Voice, "Anatomy")—that would make it improper for men and women to study them together? Then they found that various European universities did what he proposed to do. The great University of Paris did it. They might have seen accounts in the newspapers of the classes there where the ladies sat in front immediately opposite the professor. In the University of Vienna the same thing was done, as also in the Univer-

there may be a desire in the few for two organizations, there was no such desire in the minds of the many. That if the division of the few made it expedient to have two organizations, the unanimity of the many made it seem desirable to have one. I, therefore, on coming home after wards, a scheme for the union of the two organizations. I said we have only to come to these two societies, the National and the American, and say to them, in the name of the people of the great west, We do not want two organizations, we have not two objects, we do not want to pursue two methods, but only one. How shall we bring about that organization? I addressed a letter to the Executive Committee of the National and the Executive Committee of the American, and, accordingly, on the 5th of April there assembled at the Fifth Avenue Hotel three persons from each society, and three from the independent, or non-society branch. Our first proposition was that we, the independent branch, would agree to accept any proposition on which the other two branches could agree. We said if the National will disband and go with the other, we will follow; or if the American would disband and go with the National, we would consent to do the same. The National said: We are content. All differences were finally settled, and a new organization effected, with a new constitution. In conclusion, Mr. Tilton said, we want one society, under one name, under one constitution, under one list of officers, for the prosecution of one work. (Applause.)

Miss Phoebe Cozzens followed Mr. Tilton, giving some particulars of the work in Missouri, and referring to the Bible arguments, she said, "No man can define woman's sphere without assuming the prerogative of the Divine." Miss Cozzens referred to the women who have gone out of their allotted sphere to do great work for humanity.

At the close of Miss Cozzens's remarks, Mrs. Stanton came forward and announced that McFarland had been acquitted. Mrs. Stanton said: He has gone through the proof of making his wife guilty. It is practically saying that by the laws of New York no man must protect a woman from such relations as those in which this woman was held to McFarland. (Loud applause.) In 1861 I pleaded for a Divorce law that could be applied to such cases. I never proposed that women should go outside the law. Women must have a right to sunder such unholy relations. We must see that the laws of the individual sovereignty of woman are more sacred than any human tie.

As Mrs. Stanton retired, the whole audience turned its eyes upon Miss Anthony, and she responded that though she had retired from office, she was going to talk and work still. "When they count me out of this Association I'll find some other. All I ask is to let me have a chance to have my say. I am told that my talking in this way repels many people. Don't you think that if the cause, unpopular as it was, has endured my idiosyncrasies for twenty years, it can endure them now, when it has become so popular that Theodore Tilton can afford to be President of the Association? I feel like Othello, when occupation was gone, but I shall try to get used to it. I want you to remember that THE REVOLUTION is still in my hands, and I am as ready to take your \$3 as I ever was."

The meeting then adjourned till 10 o'clock Wednesday morning.

(Continued on page 315.)

sity of Zurich. In Stockholm it was the same. Nay, in the South Kensington Museum, under the auspices of the government, there were courses on physiography, physics, chemistry, botany, human physiology and anatomy in relation to art, the lecturers being Professors Huxley, Oliver, Guthrie, and Marshall of University College. He had been informed that ladies went there as part of the general audience, the arrangement being that they sat in front, and there being no difficulty about the matter. Among the ladies, under whose assistance these lectures were given, were the Duchess of St. Albans, the Marchioness of Salisbury, the Countess of Tankerville, Countess de Grey and Ripon, Countess Granville, Countess Cowley, Baroness Meyer de Rothschild, and Lady Elcho, names which might be taken as a guarantee that the thing was correct in a social point of view. To come still nearer home, the Watt Institution in this city, in consequence mainly of the action of the University, had opened its classes, and seventy-six females had during the past winter been distributed through the various classes, including natural philosophy and chemistry, the thing having been managed without any trouble at all. In the University, though male and female students had not mixed as yet, the lady students had traversed the quadrangle, and there had been shown on the part of the gentlemen the most perfect courtesy and good will. No harm had arisen, but he believed a great deal of good. Professors Crum-Brown and Bennett said their classes had worked extremely well, and they seemed to trace some beneficial influence to the fact that women had been students. ("Hear, hear," and "Oh, oh.") In conclusion, Prof. Masson remarked that the draft Medical Act, just published, was so expressed as to look forward to the admission of women throughout the kingdom to the study of medicine. He saw signs that the government might take the matter into its own hands, and come down with a regulation, which should be like the music of justice, that such inconvenience should be removed from women. Would it not be better to anticipate such action instead of adhering to a course which frustrated a former resolution of the University?

Professor Balfour seconded the motion.

Dr. Laycock's speech in reply was so coarse and insulting that I do not like to give you the report of it. He proclaimed himself a devil's associate at the outset; but if his premises regarding women be true, the devil requires no advocate, and his existence is a superfluity. Women, as the sources of all evil, according to Dr. Laycock, would fulfil the functions ascribed to that legendary personage to all intents and purposes in the University of Edinburgh. But as such associations and arguments best refute themselves to all pure and candid minds, here is an abridgment of Dr. Laycock's logic and taste in which, as you will see, he takes occasion to malign the medical women of the United States:

Professor Laycock said there could be no doubt that the women who had attended the University were excellent members of their sex; and that Miss Pechey promised to rival some of the most scientific of the women of the day was, he thought, apparent from the high eulogium she had received from the Professor of Chemistry. But he apprehended that a great University like that of Edinburgh would not be determined as to the direction it would take in a great movement of education by a question relating to an individual like Miss Pechey. The question of the medical education of women had very important general aspects, and should have the consideration of the council on grounds altogether apart from those that had been brought by the Professor of Rhetoric. He was disappointed that Professor Masson had brought it forward on such narrow grounds, and could only account for it by supposing that the professor was an enthusiast in the matter, and like enthusiasts in general, could not see beyond the blinkers which were over his sagacious eyes. Dr. Masson conceived that there would be no difficulty in women having instruction in any of the classes of medicine, and asked if they did not get instruction along with men when they went to church? But he (Dr. Laycock) would ask whether, when they went to church, they heard discussions on questions which excited the imagination, they could not chasten, questions which professors, addressing men, were obliged to treat with great seriousness, and with great reticency. (Hear, hear.) So striking was Prof. Masson's ignorance on the subject that he appeared to be in the primeval ignorance of our great

progenitor when he did not know that he ought to wear fig leaves. (Laughter and applause.) It was said that male and female students sat together in Paris class rooms, and persons who had been present reported that they had seen nothing objectionable. It occurred to him to ask, What did they expect to see? (A laugh.) The danger was not in the acts performed in the class room, but in the thoughts that might be excited there. There could be no more important topic than the proper education of women; the great interests, nay, the very existence of our civilization depended on their proper education; but this proposed medical education, if carried out, would be a curse to that civilization. ("Hear," and applause.) These were strong words, they were the result of long consideration, and a very intimate knowledge of the subject. Should they educate women in medical knowledge which they could prosecute when they were basely inclined? ("Oh, oh.") The ladies now attending the University had come with the purest motives; but how were they to ascertain when a Magdalen came to their classes? Should they be allowed to inquire into the characters of any women presenting themselves? He was interrupted by exclamations, but they were bound to look after the morals of the students of the University—bound to look at the question on all sides, and not to wear enthusiastic blinkers. For many years he had advocated the teaching of physiology to women. The question had often been asked, Who were the women that would come to medicine? How were they organized, mentally, corporeally? (Laughter.) That was a very scientific question; but it was a practical question. He had inquired into the conduct of a number of medical women in the United States and elsewhere, and although there were a good many exceptions to the general rule, yet they had a tendency to become political and social economists, rather than practical physicians, and in that capacity to discuss questions of morals which experienced male practitioners absolutely put aside. Among other illustrations of this, Dr. Laycock said they had Elizabeth Blackwell lecturing to married women in London, as to how to prevent the increase of families. He repeated that they must look at the matter as involving deeply the question of public morals. (Hear, hear.) Unless it was very guardedly considered, the University of Edinburgh might be giving currency to principles and doctrines of which it would have to be ashamed. Passing on to consider how the question concerned the interests of the University and of the students, he said that if women were admitted, as proposed, to the medical classes, they would be adopting a great general principle which had not yet been discussed, involving the admission of women to all the other faculties and all the other professions. (Hear, hear.) He did not say they ought not to be admitted, or that there was not some foundation for the agitation going on about the education of women. With reference to the teaching of men and women in the same class, he himself would feel compelled in the presence of women to leave out a good deal of what he should say. But, supposing a number of the professors were willing to receive ladies to mix with the men and run all risks, would the men agree to receive them? When the thing was first proposed, a very large number of the best-informed of the senior medical students sent to the Court a memorial requesting that they would not inflict such an evil upon them. In conclusion, Dr. Laycock said he would have preferred to have proposed that education in the University, so far as regarded women, should cease. He, however, contented himself with moving a simple negative to Professor Masson's motion.

Professor Christison supported Dr. Laycock in a similar tone. Then

Professor Calderwood said the question before the Council was simply this: May the ladies who are being taught separately by the profession be taught along with male students in the class? That being the question, it had no bearing whatever on the point to present a definite number of illustrations how certain women might turn to bad purposes the scientific information they had obtained, just as it could be no argument against scientific instruction to show that a definite number of male practitioners used their scientific knowledge to very bad purposes. These were not the questions to be discussed by the Council, and the point they had to consider was simply this. They had a University with a large efficient stock of professors, capable of giving most important instruction. Should they, or should they not, make this agency available for instructing those who sought such instruction? They had already decided that it was a desirable thing to give such instruction to ladies, in so far as that could be accomplished by the staff of the University. Had there been

any disadvantage in connection with that? He hoped the Council would go on more and more to affirm the principle that in so far as the females in the community sought instruction in the University they would find the University prepared to give that instruction, and use all the agency at its command for elevating the educational standard of both sexes. The point raised regarding the morality of the students was obviously a mistaken one. Their security for the morality of the students within the walls was to be found first in the professors, and secondly in the students themselves. He did not apprehend that in the prosecution of their task as scientific men the professors would carry immorality into the heart of the community, and he believed that they should acknowledge that the best guardianship of the morality of these female students would be found amongst the female students themselves. Was it to be supposed that the students came to the University for the purpose of turning their knowledge to immoral ends? On the contrary, would it not be held that scientific knowledge was for all who asked it, that it should be given to women as well as men, and that the country would be all the better according as women desired more knowledge and as they desired it in a scientific spirit?

Professor Masson replied to Dr. Laycock and deprecated his "whole train of zig-zag sentiment and assertion about certain horrors existing somewhere which had nothing to do with the question, but created a cloud of confused ideas that prevented him from looking at things in a sensible way." Prof. Masson quoted the words of Dr. Charteris, one of his colleagues, who was not able to attend the Council: "I am and always have been with you in this matter."

Professor Crum-Brown had tested the experiment, and was decidedly of opinion that the present arrangement was utterly impracticable. It was upon that ground that the motion of Professor Masson proceeded. The real question now came to be, were the Council to go back or to go forward? He did not see they could go back, and he did not see they could go forward in a better way than by adopting Professor Masson's motion.

A division then took place upon the motion and the amendment, when 47 gentlemen voted for the motion, and 58 for the amendment. The amendment of Prof. Laycock was accordingly declared carried.

Such was the conclusion of the Council for the present. Perhaps we ought to congratulate ourselves that so large a proportion of its members support the principle of Equal Rights, and that this "dying tyranny" is sustained by so small a majority. "It is impossible that the question can remain in its present inchoate state," is the natural reflection of the practical English mind. There must be a change, and whether it will be progressive or retrogressive the past history of civilization and the tendencies of the present age have already decreed.

MRS. FAWCETT'S LECTURE IN DUBLIN.

The arrangement that Mrs. Fawcett, the wife of Professor Fawcett, M.P. for Brighton, would deliver a lecture on "The Electoral Disabilities of Women" drew to the Molesworth Hall, Dublin, a large audience of ladies and gentlemen. Before eight o'clock on Monday evening the body of the hall and the reserved seats were crowded, and the platform was filled. Amongst those present were: Sir Robert Kane, who presided; Prof. Fawcett, M.P.; Sir Wm. Wilde and Lady Wilde; Sir John Gray, M.P., and Lady Gray; the Provost of Trinity College and Mrs. Lloyd; Sir Joseph Napier; the Misses Robertson; James Haughton, Esq., J.P.; Miss Haughton; Dr. Stokes, Jun.; Dr. Shaw, F.T.C.D.; Rev. Dr. Tisdall; Sir James Power, Rev. Dr. Dickson, F.T.C.D.; Mr. R. Reeves, barrister-at-law; Mr. J. F. Waller, L.L.D.; Rev. M. Mahaffy, F.T.C.D.; Mr. James Slatery, Professor of Political Economy, Dublin University; Dr. Stewart; Dr. Ingram, Mr. and Mrs. Carter, etc.

Mrs. Fawcett was introduced in a brief address by Sir Robert Kane, and then came for-

ward and was received with warm applause. She delivered the lecture standing in front of a reading desk. In opening her address she said:

"The subject of this lecture is one which few are prepared to discuss quite dispassionately. I will attempt to state fairly and impartially the argument on both sides. It is not exclusively a woman's question. Above all, it is not one in which the interests of men and women are opposed." She then proceeded to give a categorical list of the arguments against Women's Suffrage:

The objections are: 1st. Women are sufficiently represented already by men, their interests have always been jealously protected by the legislature. 2d. A woman is so easily influenced that if she had a vote it would practically have the same effect as giving two votes to her nearest male relation, or to her favorite clergyman. 3d. Women are so obstinate that if they had votes endless family discord would ensue. 4th. The ideal of domestic life is a miniature despotism—one supreme head, to whom all other members of the family are subject. This ideal would be destroyed if the equality of women with men were recognized by extending the Suffrage to women. 5th. Women are intellectually inferior to men. 6th. The family is woman's proper sphere and if she entered into politics she would be withdrawn from domestic duties. 7th. The line must be drawn somewhere, and if women had votes they would soon be wanting to enter the House of Commons. 8th. Women do not want the franchise. 9th. Most women are Conservatives and therefore their enfranchisement would have a reactionary influence on politics. 10. The indulgence and courtesy with which women are now treated by men would cease, if women exercised all the rights and privileges of citizenship. Women would therefore on the whole be losers if they obtained the franchise. 11th. The keen and intense excitement kindled by political strife would, if shared by women, deteriorate their physical powers, and would probably lead to the insanity of considerable numbers of them. 12th. The exercise of political power by women is repugnant to the feelings and quite at variance with a due sense of propriety. 13th. The notion that women have any claim to representation is so monstrous and absurd that no reasonable being would ever give the subject a moment's serious consideration.

Mrs. Fawcett's speech occupies four columns of a paper the size of the *London Times*. I can only briefly indicate the purport of her replies to these several points.

1st. *That women are sufficiently represented by men* is an objection that has been answered on behalf of the working men by the Reform bill of 1867, which extended the franchise to them.

2d. *That a woman is easily influenced* applies to men also, and if it were a valid objection would disfranchise all but a few leading minds in the country.

3d. The objection that *difference of opinion would produce discord in families* is met by the fact that such differences already exist. The vote records, but does not create them.

4th. *The Suffrage would destroy domestic despotism*: reply, so much the better, as such despotism injures personal liberty and development.

5th. *Women's supposed inferiority*. This is irrelevant as some men are inferior to other men, and the same objection would apply to them.

6th. *The family is Woman's sphere*. Some women have no families. Mothers who are interested in politics will be more enlightened and better fitted to fulfil the duties of their sphere.

7th. *Women would want to enter Parliament*. As in the case of working men, this is a question for constituents.

8th. *Women do not want the franchise*. Some women want it, and they should not be debarred from it by the indifference of other women. This objection applies to men also,

9th. *Women might strengthen the Tory party*. This objection is opposed to the principles of representative government, and therefore unsound.

10th. *Women would lose the consideration and courtesy they now receive from men*. It is probable that they would gain consideration, and any courtesy they would lose is but a "mess of pottage" in comparison with a birthright.

11th. *According to the Pall Mall Gazette, political excitement would injure the health of women*. Granting this possibility, the same remark would apply to delicate men, and should not debar strong men, nor women, from the exercise of their rights.

12th. *The sense of propriety is violated by women taking part in elections*. The fact is patent that women do now take part in elections, and the ballot system which is likely to be adopted in this country will obviate any further objections on the score of propriety.

To the 13th and last objection Mrs. Fawcett replied thus in her peroration:

I now pass to the last objection, for by this time I am sure you must be getting weary of me. This objection, that the notion of Women's Suffrage is monstrous and absurd, and deserves only to be treated as a joke, is one which is slowly dying a natural death. You still hear of it in remote country districts, but it has received its death blow from the names of the many eminent persons who are warm advocates of Woman's Suffrage. Perhaps, I need only mention such names as Mr. Mill, Rev. C. Kingsley, Mr. Darwin, Prof. Huxley and Prof. Maurice to remind you that Women's Suffrage is advocated by men occupying the very highest ranks in philosophy, science and literature. Mr. Mill and others have shown in their writings the grounds on which they base their support of the claims of women to representation. It is easy to laugh; but, when the leading philosophical thinkers of the age use all their weight and influence, and employ their great genius in striving to produce a recognition of the political rights of women, their arguments must be met by arguments; they will never be answered by a sneer. I think I have now made a reply to all the objections previously enumerated against Woman's Suffrage; in doing so, I have, perhaps, sufficiently indicated grounds on which I advocate it. I have endeavored to show that men's rights and women's rights must stand or fall together; that their maintenance is necessary to the fulfilment of the Divine will—man's happiness. For if God wills man's happiness, and man's happiness depends on his freedom, then God wills man's freedom. "Equity knows no difference of sex. The law of equal freedom necessarily applies to the whole race—female as well as male. The same reasoning which establishes that law for men may be used with equal cogency on behalf of women." These are not my words, they are the words of a great philosopher whose writings will probably mould the opinions of unborn generations. I refer again to Mr. Herbert Spencer, and as I have, perhaps, passed rather too briefly over the objections of those who urge that Women's Suffrage would destroy the harmony of the home, I cannot do better than quote in conclusion what he has said on the effect of the complete enfranchisement of women on domestic happiness: "Married life under this ultimate state of things will not be characterized by perpetual squabbles, but by mutual concessions. Instead of a desire on the part of the husband to assert his claims to the uttermost, regardless of those of his wife, or on the part of the wife to do the like, there will be a watchful desire on both sides not to transgress. Neither will have to stand on the defensive, because each will be solicitous for the rights of the other. Not encroachment but self-sacrifice will be the ruling principle. The struggle will be, not which shall gain the mastery, but which shall give way. Committing a trespass will be the thing feared, and not the being trespassed against. And thus, instead of domestic discord, will come a higher harmony than any we yet know."

The lecture was most effectively delivered, and the audience testified their appreciation by cordial applause at several points in the argument.

Miss Anna Robertson, who had been principally instrumental in getting up the meeting, moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. Fawcett, in an excellent speech, describing the efforts made in Dublin in favor of Women's Suffrage. She

was seconded by Dr. J. F. Waller, who said that he wished Mrs. Fawcett had also claimed for women the right to education commensurate with their intellectual capacities, and the exercise of all the rights of a cultivated mind and judgment. He regarded woman as physically subordinated to man, that this did not imply the surrender of her judgment. The Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, moved, and the Rev. Dr. Shaw, also a Fellow of the University, seconded the adoption of a petition to Parliament in favor of giving the elective franchise to women.

Professor Fawcett, M.P., then made an able speech in which he traced the progress of the question in Parliament. The resolutions were carried unanimously. In reply to Dr. Waller's doctrine of subordination, Mrs. Fawcett made this racy little speech:

Mrs. Fawcett, who was loudly cheered, said—I have to thank you for the kindness with which you have heard my remarks on the subject under discussion; I have especially to thank Miss Robertson and Dr. Waller for their kindness in respectively moving and seconding the vote of thanks to me. I feel I cannot sit down without repudiating the assertion of Dr. Waller, which he thinks I admit—that women are naturally and eternally subordinate to men (applause and laughter) on account of their inferior physical power. Women are inferior in physical power to men, but it does not follow they are to be subordinate to men. If subordination was to result from inferiority of physical power the greatest intellects of the country would be subordinate to the athletes, to the prize fighters, to the other possessors of mere brute force. But some of our greatest philosophers and writers were men deficient in physical power—Scott was a cripple till manhood, Pope was a cripple all his life. There are many other instances I could name of the same kind, but it is not necessary. I content myself by repeating that it does not at all follow that inferiority of physical power should result in subordination (hear, hear).

Sir Joseph Napier was called to the chair in the place of Sir Robert Kane, and on the motion of Sir J. Gray, M.P., the thanks of the meeting were given to Sir R. Kane for presiding.

Yours very truly,

REBECCA MOORE.

THE SOUTHERN HOPE.—It is the school mistress, against the world. The Pontotoc (Miss.) *Equal Rights*, says:

A colored school opened here, 25th ult., under the charge of Miss Coles, a young lady of education and refinement. It is already full; and an assistant will have to be procured. We bespeak for her the kindly feelings of this community. She is far from her home, in a land of strangers; engaged in an honorable, useful and philanthropic pursuit. Let us remember that in after years, some of our daughters may be similarly situated, and regard the divine precept: "Do unto others as we would have them do unto us."

Of woman's right of Suffrage, the same paper says:

As we will frequently return to this subject, we now wish to be understood as to what we think should be the status of woman in the new condition in which we desire to place her. While we have no objections to her serving on juries, we are not anxious that she should; and we oppose her doing military duty. We do it upon the same principle that exempts school teachers, ministers of the gospel, civil officers, old men and lame men. Does any one propose to require military duty from the above classes of persons? Or does any person propose depriving them of the right to vote because they are exempted from the performance of military duty?

Then if public policy requires that they should be exempt and yet retain all the rights of other citizens, why may not women be allowed their political rights and still be exempt from the performance of certain things, from which a large class of men are now by law released?

CITY SUFFRAGE MEETING.—It will be held, as usual, on Friday afternoon at half past two, at 257 West Thirty-fourth st.

The Revolution.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, \$3 A YEAR.

NEW YORK CITY SUBSCRIPTIONS, \$3.20.

LIZABETH CADY STANTON, Editor.

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SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

OFFICE, 27 CHATHAM STREET, N. Y.

NEW YORK, MAY 19, 1870.

MALE MAGDALEN ASYLUMS.

WHY not Male as well as Female? Certainly for every Mary Magdalen there must have been a David Magdalen, a Solomon Magdalen, an Abraham, an Isaac, or a Jacob Magdalen. There may have been more. Poor Mary Magdalen was possessed of seven devils, all males, of course, for the Bible always makes devils masculine. Witches there were among women, and sorceresses, but nothing worse. Mary Magdalen probably had lovers more than seven. Had he who cleansed the temple with a "scourge of small cords" taken these in hand also, while he cast out the devils, the hope for poor Mary would have been brighter yet. Or perhaps they were one and the same plague. Devils is good enough name for them, if they were. But why Magdalen Asylums for the Marys and none for the tempter, the serpent, the devil that caused their fall? Magdalen Asylums are not benevolent, charitable, philanthropic, christian. They are places of punishment. Whoever enters them goes as a culprit, a criminal. The entrance, indeed, is another "Bridge of Sighs;" all hope of perfect restoration, recognition as an equal, a trusted, loved, honored member of society may as well be left behind. Society may graciously pity such and doubtfully hope God will forgive—will at least provide, somewhere in the suburbs of the New Jerusalem, a Magdalen Asylum for such, and thus prove Himself as good and charitable as themselves. But the seducer needs no such penitential, purgatorial discipline. He is at the top of society here; has no doubt he will be hereafter. He is the court that tries, the judge that sentences, the governor that hangs the Hester Vaughans, unless some rescuing angel interposes and snatches the prey from their very fangs. They need no Magdalen Asylums. They build them and then crowd them with victims of their own destroying. For every fallen woman there are forty fallen men. Men, many of them, fallen forty times lower, too, than any woman, because it is they who drag women down. Woman never falls through lust, man never falls through anything else. Woman is betrayed and falls. But how much deeper is the plunge of the betrayer? And that plunge voluntary! Woman by starvation and distress falls, bartering body and soul for bread for herself and children. What does he do who will take advantage of such distress? Does he fall? Man frames laws, society shapes its customs, fashions, occupations, compensations, so as to lure or drive woman to these terrible straits, especially the poor woman, then she falls, is henceforth branded, shunned, goes forth a fugitive, a vagabond, or is consigned to, rather is confined in, a Magdalen Asylum to ex-

piate in grief and tears the sin she was tempted, driven by forces she did not create, could not control, to commit or die!

Man is forgiven almost anything. Wronged in his domestic relations, or even presuming he is wronged, he shoots the disturber of his peace and society forgives, even justifies, the murder, and pensions with appointments the murderer. Or man may wrong, outrage a woman, a young woman, a starving woman, a mother pining in the midst of starving children, may wrong her until ordinary murder whitens into innocence in comparison, and society easily overlooks that also. Women, the rich, the gay, the prosperous, the happy, overlook it, pardon it, and no caste or character is lost to him. But alas for his victim! She may go to the Magdalen Asylum or to perdition. If to the former she is to feel, or be made to feel, that society, in the plentitude of its piety, its charity, has provided this Retreat for her good—that she will here be watched over and kept from the path of temptation, and permitted to repent of her great, and many, and damning sins, in retirement and peace; when all the time the poor victim knows or soon learns that her jailers are often viler than she had ever been, and that their chief solicitude is to prevent her from ever recovering her own self-respect and womanly dignity, or to return to the society that ruined first and then rejected and renounced her forever. Thus her very asylum, for which she is expected to be profoundly grateful, instead of being "the fold of the Good Shepherd," is to the poor lamb, a wolves' den, with only wolves, in whatever clothing, to keep the door. Here is what the *Cincinnati Gazette* thinks about it:

After a lapse from the virtue of chastity man goes about in society the same as before, and is not cast out nor deprived of business nor of means of earning a livelihood. All riches and honor are open to his pursuit. The woman goes to a Magdalen Asylum, or a Home for the Friendless. If deeply contrite she is allowed to work for her board, under rigid surveillance; and after a satisfactory probation, some good family may take her for a servant, but with continual misgivings.

This may seem an inequality hardly worth mentioning, but we are striving for perfection. As it is impossible for either the male or female mind to contemplate the consequences of remedying this injustice by allowing the same privilege to women, it is obvious that man must be subjected to the female course of reformation. We must have Male Magdalen Asylums, where fallen men may be allowed to do coarse work for their living, under severe restraint, until a probation of penitence and good conduct shall justify the putting them out to places in pious elderly families, where there are no young people to be contaminated by their ill fame. As history has no record of male penitents of this sort, we have to borrow a name for these institutions from a female penitent—the only woman ever forgiven on earth—and call them Male Magdalen Asylums.

We must have "Homes for the Friendless" for men: that when, perhaps, for a single fault, and that under peculiar temptation, the inexorable virtue of society drives them into bad courses, they may have temporary shelter from the finger of public scorn; may be assured that they are not wholly beyond human sympathy, and that with life-long contrition they may be allowed to live in some humble occupation. Men must show the same benevolence in saving the fallen of their sex by supporting these institutions, as good women do in caring for theirs. The vast preponderance of good men will make this great work of reforming their fallen a light one when all the good engage in it.

Let the irony of the *Gazette* be pardoned for the sake of its truthfulness in the picture drawn. There is no distortion, no caricature. Scarcely is any possible. The *Gazette*, in other portions of the article, may be presumed to doubt whether the ballot in woman's hand would right, or even remedy these wrongs. Let that be pardoned also, for the *Gazette* sees, feels and has often deplored the wrongs done to woman,

and will never be found her foe, even in the conflict for her right to the ballot. P. P.

IMPORTANT TRANSFER.

ONE of the most interesting as well as important movements of the past week, was the transfer of the American Equal Rights Association to the new Union Woman Suffrage Society. It was done at a meeting on Saturday at the spacious parlors of Mrs. Margaret E. Winchester in Gramercy Place, Mrs. Stanton occupying the chair, in the absence of the president, Mrs. Lucretia Mott. Before the meeting was called to business, a band of music appeared at the door and performed a beautiful serenade in honor of Mrs. Stanton. At the same time a bouquet of surprising size, beauty and value, from an unknown hand, was brought in and placed on a centre table. It was oval in form, more than a yard in diameter, composed of the most costly flowers, both for elegance and fragrance; roses of every hue, and from bud to full blossom, camillas, japonicas, sweet mignonette, pansies, geraniums, violets and many more, all wrought into solid tuft-work, a most exquisite border of lilly of the valley trailing round the outer edge and the initials, E. C. S., displayed in the centre with wondrous beauty and skill, the whole forming a well-earned and most appropriate tribute, the money value of which was more than one hundred dollars, and that was the least important part of its real worth.

The assembly being called to order, the reports of the last meeting and of the Society's Treasurer having been read and disposed of, Henry Blackwell, presented the following resolution:

Whereas, The American Equal Rights Association was organized in 1866 in order to secure equal rights to all American citizens, especially the right of Suffrage, irrespective of race, color, or sex; and

Whereas, Political distinctions of race are now abolished by the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments; and

Whereas, Arrangements have been made by the formation of Woman Suffrage Associations for the advocacy of the legal and political rights of women as a separate question; and

Whereas, An unnecessary multiplication of agencies for the accomplishment of a common object should always be avoided; therefore

Resolved, That we hereby declare the American Equal Rights Association dissolved and adjourned *sine die*.

At the same time Parker Pillsbury offered the following:

Whereas, At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Equal Rights Association, held in Brooklyn, N. Y., on Thursday, the 3d day of March, 1870, it was voted, on motion of Mr. Oliver Johnson, that it is inexpedient to hold any public anniversary meeting of the American Equal Rights Association, and that in our judgment it is expedient to dissolve said association; but as we have no authority to effect such dissolution, an informal business meeting of the association be held in New York, during the coming anniversary week, to consider and act upon this subject; and on motion of Mrs. Lucy Stone, it was voted that this business meeting of members of the American Equal Rights Association shall be held on Saturday, May 14, 1870, at 10 o'clock, a.m., at the house of Mrs. Margaret E. Winchester, 23 Gramercy place, New York; therefore

Resolved, That instead of terminating our existence as an association, we do hereby transfer it, together with all its books, records, reports, or whatsoever appertains it, to, and unite it with the Union Woman's Suffrage Society, organized in New York on the 10th day of May, in the year 1870.

A long and earnest discussion succeeded, both resolutions being in order. Mr. Blackwell and wife contended, almost to the very death, that the work of the society was done, and so, as some of the South Sea island tribes put their

aged parents to death, when their work is done, we should now also, for the same good and economic reason, perform the like kindly office upon our society. It was denied that the society was dead; and held that to bury it would be to entomb it alive, the most dreaded of all deaths; and to strike it down with so much vigor and vitality as was then and there displayed, would be most unjustifiable, unpardonable homicide. And so it was deemed wisest and best on the part of Mr. Studwell, Mrs. Wilbour, Mr. Tilton, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Winchester and several others, to transfer it to the new Union Society, in accordance with Mr. Pillsbury's resolution.

Mr. Blackwell contended that a meeting so small, so informal, and so imperfectly advertised could not constitutionally, legally, nor morally make such transfer. But it was shown in the first place that the meeting as to place and numbers, was just what was expected when it was called (though perhaps not composed of precisely the intended persons); that Mr. Blackwell and wife and their immediate and particular friends and sympathisers had the whole ordering and directing of the business—that Mr. Studwell and his supporters were desirous that the meeting should be held in Cooper Institute, and offered to take it for the purpose, *at their own expense*; but in this, as in everything else, they were outnumbered and voted down. And as to advertising the meeting, it was proved that it had been announced in a number of newspapers, though it was equally apparent that Mr. Blackwell and his friends at the outset contemplated no advertising whatever. They had always had everything their own way during the year and reckoned on no meeting at Mrs. Winchester's, that they could not also control, on the principle of "*rule or ruin*."

As to the power of the meeting to transfer the society against which Mr. Blackwell contended so pertinaciously, he was asked by Mr. Tilton whether the power was not as great to transfer, under Mr. Pillsbury's resolution, as to dissolve and destroy under the resolution he had offered himself and so persistently advocated? and farther whether he had called that meeting with the specified and avowed purpose of performing a deed which he now insisted could not be constitutional, legal, equitable, nor just? Such questions of course admitted of no answer, but Mr. Blackwell was determined to make the best possible out of a case which to nearly all present, seemed a good deal more discreditable to him than it was desperate. He claimed that there were large numbers of the association, not present, who would be unjustly treated, if not outraged, by the proposed transfer. He was answered that there were still larger numbers who would be still more unjustly treated at the proposed deliberate South Sea island slaughter and burial of the association, because that would make an end of it; whereas no persons would, or could be held as members of the new Union without their individual consent, with the prescribed conditions.

The last question raised was by Mrs. Stone. It was as to who present were actual members of the society, put, too, in such manner as to cast severe imputation on those who disagreed with her on the main question; as though they would carry their point by illegal voting. She requested all who ever become members *by payment of ten cents*, to rise. It was done. Then she desired a roll of the meeting. It was taken. Then Jennie Collins, who has a name second to few, if any, for faithfulness to the cause, and

for work of many years, done and well done, was catechised personally by Mr. Blackwell, who admitted all her fidelity and abundant labors, but demanded, "*have you ever paid the ten cents?*" She did not say she had, but to end the agony, the prodigious tribute was raised and paid on the spot. Then Mrs. Robert Dale Owen was subjected to the same ordeal. She also was short weight to similar amount, but again the defaulting dime was tossed into the scale; so that when final action was taken, the association actually had a pistareen in its pocket. Mr. Studwell contrasted the ruling of Mrs. Stone and Mr. Blackwell with that of Wendell Phillips a few days before, at the disbanding of the Anti-Slavery Society; he deciding that all who had ever worked with the society, or sympathized with it in its work, had the right to vote, while in this case, nothing would pass, no years of labor, no sacrifices, no fidelity, no sympathy, no nothing, unless sealed with a bona fide ten cent stamp!

At last, after two hours of valuable time in the mortal life of two-and-twenty human beings, all presumed to be intelligent, the vote on the two resolutions was reached by the previous question. The ayes and noes were ordered on both the resolution of Mr. Blackwell and Mr. Pillsbury, with result as follows:

For dissolution of the association, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell—2.

For transfer, under resolution of Mr. Pillsbury: Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, N. Y.; Parker Pillsbury, N. H.; Susan B. Anthony, N. Y.; Theodore Tilton, Brooklyn; Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, R. I.; Miss Phoebe W. Cozzens, Mo.; Edwin A. Studwell, Brooklyn; Mrs. Edwin A. Studwell, do.; Mrs. John J. Merritt, do.; Mrs. Robert Dale Owen, Indiana; Mrs. Margaret E. Winchester, N. Y.; Mrs. Clemence S. Lozier, N. Y.; Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour, N. Y.; Mrs. Eleanor Kirk, Brooklyn; Miss Jennie Collins, Mass.; Mrs. E. B. Phelps, N. Y.; Miss Chichester, N. Y.; Mrs. S. B. Morse, N. Y.

In favor, but declining to vote, Mrs. Laura C. Bullard, Brooklyn; Miss Baldwin, Ill.

P. P.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT CELEBRATIONS.

THE colored men have signalized it widely, but seem to have forgotten wholly their women, and all women. They have made many earnest, powerful addresses and speeches, but in not one, that I have seen, is there the least recognition of woman. Women used to work pretty hard, practice a good deal of self-denial, suffer not a little persecution, living almost the very lives of the slaves, in "remembering them that were in bonds as bound with them," but they get little credit or gratitude for it yet, from the newly-created citizenship. One man, signing himself, "J. W. H. Hacks, M.D.," in a somewhat elevated style of "address to the colored people of Philadelphia," goes farther, and throws Garrison, Phillips, and all their connection overboard, men women and children, in this style:

Dear colored people, all of your troubles and wickednesses are wiped away, and you have none to thank but the living God of Heaven and the great and generous Republican party. * * * I hope you will show to the Republican party that their labor, and suffering, and dying is not in vain.

In their many celebrations and processions the names of many men have been emblazoned on their banners of most dubious reputation as

friends of the colored race, but what woman has been so distinguished? Are the names of Sarah and Angeline Grimke, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman, Abby Kelley, to be forever forgotten? not to speak of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lucy Stone and others of later, but scarcely lesser note, and some of them *colored women, too!* are these all to be consigned to oblivion, and the names of politicians who were democrats, even, till the terrors of rebellion and war drove them from the party like wharf rats from a ship on fire? Is this proof of fitness for Suffrage and citizenship? Above all, is this any indication of what woman is to expect of the colored males, as masters and rulers, now that, by the omnipotence of the ballot, they are set over and above them in all that pertains to person, property, liberty, life?

Scarcely a leading republican in all the party, at any rate but very few, opposed Mr. Lincoln's plan of reconstruction after the surrender of Richmond and the rebellion, which would have left every colored man in the south at the mercy of his old master. And that master made more tyrant than ever by having to submit to black men as soldiers whom he had always driven as slaves! It was the votes of democrats, manipulated against themselves, by the matchless strategy of Sumner, that saved the whole slave population from that direful fate. After so many had fought and fallen in defence of the President and government, in the very hour of the victory which the colored troops themselves had so dearly purchased, that same President and party, even Mr. Garrison himself consenting, would have hurled the whole colored population back to the dominion of a white oligarchy as serfs, if not as slaves (slaves, even, they might have been), but for one strategic stroke in the Senate that for skill, and surely for success, had no parallel in all the achievements of the field, from the surrender of Fort Sumpter to the restoration of the stripes and stars four years afterwards, over its thunder-scarred walls.

Far be it from this writer to call the newly-made colored citizenship to account; or even to criticize their doings, or not doings. But, as one who, for twenty-seven years of midmanhood, had no other aim, hope, wish, or care, but their emancipation and enfranchisement, with their wives and children, he may be permitted to ask whether, while emblazoning aloft on so many constellations of banners the names of newly-found political divinities, the names of a few of those women, out of whose labors, sufferings, sighs, tears, and prayers, came at last these worshipped ones, as children born out of due time should be wholly ignored and forgotten?

P. P.

LABOR AND CAPITAL CONFLICTING.—Readers of THE REVOLUTION have not forgotten the contest last year in the Senate of the United States and the newspapers between Senator Sprague and Messrs. Brown and Ives, the famous Rhode Island cotton spinners. It now appears that the latter have just attempted to reduce the wages of the operatives at their Lonsdale mill ten per cent., and the "help" are on a strike. The good of a strike, only is, that it shows signs of life still remaining. It is a struggle more than a strike or anything else and generally about as effective as the writhings of a victim chained to the rack with nearly every bone already broken and every joint dislocated. The real battle between Labor and Capital will be fierce if not bloody when it comes. Senator Sprague evidently snuffs it, even if it be as yet, afar off.

MEDICAL COLORPHOBIA REBUKED.

THE American Medical Association at its Convention last week in Washington came near proving itself worthy to be senior to the young roughs and rowdies who so dishonored the profession and disgraced themselves at the Philadelphia Medical College last winter. Some of the members were as shameful in their treatment and estimate of colored doctors, as the Philadelphians were in their behavior to the young women medical students. Dr. Sullivan of Boston offered a resolution against colored prescription and was graciously permitted to speak seven and a half minutes in its support, and that appears to be all the defence it found. But the doctor in his few moments uttered some pretty sharp truths, and the wonder is that he was heard at all. He said:

Gentlemen, this is a scientific body, gathered from every section of the country. We have met to deliberate upon purely scientific subjects; to determine questions of a purely scientific character—questions which concern not our own welfare, but the welfare and perpetuity even, of mankind. I will not, however, deny that in part, at least, this association was organized for social purposes, but its main objects are those which I have indicated. Now, is there one gentleman present from the north, south, east, or west, who would hesitate to admit to this floor the duly accredited representative of any scientific body, organized by any race under the sun, no matter what might be the color of his skin, provided it were not black? Why is it, gentlemen, that you ostracize no qualified persons save persons of this one color? Why do you entertain an inveterate hostility to the Ethiopian being represented here, and yet, as we all believe, make no objection whatever to those whose complexion betray their origin from some one of the other four great divisions of the human family? For my part, I am satisfied that our friends from the south greatly mistake the nature of their feelings toward the negro. There is a mass of living evidence which renders irresistible the conclusion that however much they may dislike the black man, toward the black woman they entertain, many of them, the liveliest feelings of our nature.

The Press of the country, at least in many places, treats the convention with becoming severity. The *Washington Chronicle* had a severe article on it in which it said:

By foolish prejudice manifested in gross indecorum, a majority of the Medical Association showed themselves far behind the age. They held the opinion, begotten of prejudice and born of ignorance, that the color of a man's skin should be a qualification for his admission to a professedly scientific body. They proceeded to sustain this error by a boorishness which may have been in vogue a thousand years ago, but should assuredly be obsolete in the nineteenth century. Whatever they may pass for as physicians, it seems to us that, as scientific men, a majority of the recently assembled doctors are empirics. The genuine disciple of science in his zealous pursuit of truth knows neither sex nor color. If a woman or an African wishes to obtain scientific truth from the same sources with himself, he bids them welcome, since the supply is inexhaustible and should be free for all comers. Whoever of either sex, or of any color, desiring to contribute the results of investigation to increase the sum of human knowledge is warmly welcomed by the truly scientific man. Tried by this standard many delegates in the American Medical Association were evidently not men of science. They refused to receive into the association as delegates, gentlemen who had no superiors among them as scientific men, solely on account of their color. By so doing they showed that they themselves had no right to a place in scientific circles, however white may be their complexion. Such conduct is sufficient cause for their exclusion from all scientific associations of a higher order than the Ku-Klux Klans.

The old doctors who would act thus to respectable, educated, accomplished colored members of the profession, apart from all considerations of science, as well as of professional and manly dignity and self-respect, would doubtless lead a mob of medical students against any class of women, however respectable and refined, who

should presume to enter the precincts of a Medical College.

P. P.

A WOMAN'S MISSIONARY MEETING.

WOMEN are not only missionaries to the heathen, but they have begun to form Foreign Missionary Societies and Boards of their own. THE REVOLUTION has frequently reported the effective labors of Miss Carpenter and other excellent women who are doing missionary and ministerial work in India and other foreign countries and islands at their own charges, or in respective of Boards or Societies; but according to the *Methodist*, the women have at least one large Missionary Bureau of their own in this country. It says:

The first annual meeting of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held in the Tremont street church, Boston, on April 21st. The various branch societies throughout the country were well represented, and quite a large number of ladies were in attendance. A remarkable feature of the meeting was the fact that all the exercises were conducted by the ladies themselves, there being no gentlemen invited. It was severely a woman's meeting, a few mousing reporters being the only exception to the rule. The idea of creating such a society had been under consideration for years. Its necessity grew out of the condition of heathen women, who are excluded from society, and cannot be approached by our male missionaries. Six months after the organization of the Society, two ladies, Miss Thoburn and Miss Swain, M.D., had been secured and sent out as missionaries. The Society had raised during the year about \$7,000. Branch organizations have been instituted in many of our largest cities. The monthly paper, the *Heaven Woman's Friend*, published by the society, has already a circulation of four thousand copies. Mrs. Dr. Patten, of the Boston Theological School, President of the Executive Committee, and of the original society, now the Boston branch, presided on this occasion with remarkable ease, and won golden opinions as a lady of marked ability. The Portland (Me.) society was represented by Mrs. Taylor. Mrs. Dr. Butler, Secretary of New York branch, gave an interesting account of the organization and work of the society since June last.

The west and northwest were ably represented by women from Chicago, St. Louis and other places.

After the reports were read, Miss Eva Merrill came forth, dressed in India costume, and recited the "Heathen Woman's Appeal." She was followed by Mrs. Maclay, of the China mission, who spoke very feelingly of the condition of woman in China. She said: "My heart rejoices that I am permitted to say a word here for the heathen women of China." She then proceeded to depict their degradation, and the possibilities of their elevation. A very touching allusion was made to the universal custom of infanticide, and the horrors of that heathen custom were fully demonstrated.

Mrs. J. T. Gracey, of the India mission, who, with her husband, is to return to that field in a few months, being called upon, spoke of the condition of the women of that land, and the necessity of sending out medical women and Bible readers. The men of India know little or nothing of the practice of medicine, and the women much less. Thousands of women die yearly, who, when sick, receive no attention at all from medical men. She knew of no way by which we can enter the homes of India and have access to the females with anything like as great effect as by carrying them help in these hours of their extremity. A woman only can reach these women in their homes, as the customs of the country exclude them from association with men under any pretence, other than their husbands, fathers or brothers.

And there was a great deal more in the report of the *Methodist*, showing not only zeal and earnestness in the work, but also ability to comprehend its philosophy, to arrange its method, and to prosecute the practical operations quite as wisely and well as the more pretentious male membership, or ministry even, of the denomination. So is woman every day, everywhere, demonstrating her fitness to hold equal

rank with men in every department of human existence.

P. P.

MRS. JOSLYN GAGE IN VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, Va., May 7th, 1870.

DEAR REVOLUTION: I glory in announcing a grand achievement in the great reform of the day in Virginia. Our energetic and heroic leader, Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, after giant efforts on her part, and with the aid of some strong advocates of the reform, on Friday evening, May 6th, 1870, organized in the city of Richmond a Virginia State Woman Suffrage Association. The whole proceedings I here append for immediate publication in your columns.

U. B.

ADDRESSES BY MRS. GAGE, JUDGE UNDERWOOD AND OTHERS.

Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, advisory counsel for New York, in the National Woman's Suffrage Association of America, delivered a lecture upon "Opportunity for Woman," at Basher's Hall, corner of Ninth and Main streets, on Thursday evening, the 5th inst. The lecture was able, earnest and eloquent, and was listened to with rapt attention by the friends of the cause present. At its conclusion Judge John C. Underwood gave notice that on the following evening (Friday) a meeting would be held at the United States Court room (which he freely proffered for the purpose), to organize a State Woman Suffrage Association, adopt a constitution, elect officers and appoint delegates to the anniversary of the National Association soon to be held. The Judge remarked that, upon conversing with Governor Wise upon the subject, he (the General) had expressed his warm sympathy with the objects of the movement, save upon the question of giving woman the ballot. All the other "rights" claimed for woman he was heartily in accord with and with the efforts made to secure their bestowal; especially, he thought, should the professions be opened to women, more particularly the medical, women being the natural physicians of their sex and of children.

On last evening, pursuant to the above notice, a meeting was held in the room of the United States Court for the purpose above indicated. Judge John C. Underwood was called to preside. Previous to the action of the regular business of the meeting, several articles favorable to the movement were read. Miss Sue L. F. Smith (daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Wm. A. Smith) read very charmingly two well written essays, prepared by herself, in advocacy of granting to woman the full meed of powers and responsibilities now enjoyed by man; the latter essay showing the evil and pernicious effects of the present system of irresponsible power possessed by woman, being especially noticeable for purity in thought, religious fervor and high moral tone. Mr. William E. Coleman read an article prepared by him at the request of the lady friends of the cause, entitled "Clerical Denunciation of Woman Suffrage—A Defense," being a reply to a violent attack made by the Rev. Dr. Edwards of this city, upon the adherents of the movement, in a sermon delivered by him on the evening of March 20th last.

A proposed constitution for the government of the "Virginia State Woman's Suffrage Association," was then read, and adopted as a whole; after which the election of officers of the society was proceeded with, resulting as follows:

President—Mrs. Anne W. Bodeker, Richmond.

Vice-Presidents—Mr. and Mrs. Judge John C. Underwood, Mr. and Mrs. Judge Westall Willoughby, Mr. and Mrs. Judge Lysander Hill, all of Alexandria; Mr. R. M. Manly, Richmond; Mrs. Martha Haines Bennett, Norfolk; Mr. Andrew Washburne and Mr. Wm. E. Coleman, Richmond.

Secretary—Miss Sue L. F. Smith, Richmond.

Executive Committee—Rev. W. F. Hemenway, Mrs. Andrew Washburne, Mrs. Dr. E. H. Smith, Dr. and Mrs. Langstedt, of Richmond, and Mrs. Allen ("Florence Percy"), of Manchester.

On motion of Judge Underwood, Miss Sue L. F. Smith was appointed delegate to represent Virginia in the anniversary of the National Association to be held in New York city, May 12th and 13th next, the society having by resolution connected itself as an auxiliary society to said National Association.

Mrs. Gage offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That as woman is a human being, capable of self-government, she is possessed of all the rights and responsibilities of a human being.

Resolved, That woman has a natural right to enter into any kind of employment for which she has capacity, and a just right to equal pay with man for work equally well done.

Resolved, That marriage does not take from woman her rights and her responsibilities as a human being, in any relation of life, be it family, society or government: and that it is robbery on the part of this state to take the wife's property from her and give it to her husband; and that to transfer a wife's moral responsibility to her husband, is a piece of impious and presumptive legislation which we call upon our state to efface from its laws.

Resolved, That as woman is amenable to the government of our country, she should have, according to one of the fundamental principles of our democracy, a recognized right to a voice in making its laws.

Resolved, That as by the Fifteenth Amendment every man has been enfranchised and our former servants are elevated into the condition of law-makers for us, we, the women of Virginia, demand of Congress the immediate submission to the people of a Sixteenth Amendment to the constitution of the United States granting the ballot to the women of the nation on the same terms as it is held by men.

Mrs. Gage then delivered quite a forcible and fervent address, enumerating many of the wrongs to which women are subjected in this state, and urging their repeal or reform, dwelling particularly upon the laws depriving mothers of the right to their own children and placing the property of married women at the mercy of their husbands, depriving the wives of all voice in the disposition of the property possessed by them before marriage.

At the conclusion of these remarks the meeting adjourned.

WOMAN AS WITNESS.

THE Boston Sunday Times, in alluding to Mrs. Calhoun-Runkle's testimony on the Richardson-McFarland trial, says:

Woman is as much a success as a witness as she promises to be as a jurymen. She has been recently tested in both capacities,—in a case in court out in Wyoming Territory, and in a case in court in New York. If John Graham of the "robustious, periwig-pated" school of cross-examiners, made anything off of the frank, keen, self-controlled Mrs. Calhoun-Runkle, we may be sure he will speak of it on the very first opportunity. It has finally been demonstrated that a lady on the witness stand can hold her own successfully against the roughest, rudest, and sharpest criminal lawyer of the metropolis. "Call your next witness."

The same paper has an article on the extension of Suffrage in Great Britain, a part of which reads thus:

Forty years ago the Suffrage in England was confined to a very few privileged people. In many places the right to send a member to Parliament lay with a single individual. It was only through a semi-revolution that the Suffrage was extended in Great Britain forty years ago, when the reform bill was passed; and the cause of that threatening was the exposure of gross corruption in an obscure close borough, which a humble individual made, almost at the cost of his life. Out of the intolerable persecution of this man arose the demand for an extended suffrage in England, which was granted at the commencement of the fourth decade of the present century, and the spirit of liberty grew and flourished until its might compelled a further extension within the past two years, which has enfranchised about every man in Great Britain who has actually what is called "a stake in the country's welfare." But political progress did not stop at this point; for we find that a bill granting women the right to vote has had a second reading in the English Parliament. It is not, to be sure, a ministerial measure, nor is it exactly certain that it will pass the House this session, or if it does that the House of Lords will approve it; but its principle is on record—within the pale of political agitation—and sooner or later it will undoubtedly become law. And yet, within forty years, a few hundred men constituted the entire electoral body within the realm of Great Britain! Is not the change remarkable?

Free Suffrage in America, without regard to race and color, is a wonderful political change; but almost free Suffrage in England, without respect to sex, if accomplished, must, all things considered, be acknowledged still greater.

IOWA WOMAN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT CONVENTION.

We, the undersigned, residing in different sections of the state, desiring a more effective union of the friends of Woman's Enfranchisement, propose to those interested in this subject, to meet in Convention in the city of Mt. Pleasant, on the 16th and 17th of June, with a view to the organization of a State Association at that time if deemed best, or so as our only desire is the good of the cause, at some subsequent period, at the Capitol, that the united force of the movement may be concentrated as to secure its final triumph:

I. P. Teter,	George B. Corkhill,
Rebecca B. Teter,	L. W. Myers,
Joseph A. Dugdale,	R. C. Myers,
Ruth Dugdale,	Amelia Penn,
R. Anne Canby,	Alexander Burns,
Mrs. Phebe Elliott,	Elwood Ozborn,
Thomas E. Corkhill,	Presley Saunders,
Lucinda Corkhill,	D. C. Bloomer,
Ann P. Dennett,	Amelia Bloomer,
J. M. Mansfield,	Geo. F. W. Willey,
Belle Mansfield,	Hannah S. Willey,

And many others.

Letters designed for the meeting may be addressed to Joseph A. Dugdale, George B. Corkhill, or Belle Mansfield.

WOODHULL'S AND CLAPLIN'S WEEKLY.—The Women Brokers have also become journalists and certainly with excellent promise, judging from their first issue. The Weekly is in form like THE REVOLUTION, in size a fourth larger, handsomely printed, on fine paper, and the contents discover editorial ability of a high order on the one hand and of truly radical tendency on the other. Not only does the paper advocate Woman Suffrage, but one of its proprietors presents herself as candidate for the next presidency. An editorial headed, "Watchman, what of the Night?" closes thus:

We are emphatically as a nation, in a transition state. Let the scoffers laugh, let the wits sneer, or the careless and indifferent turn aside to attend to their business and their bread winning, but earnest souls know that there are in these days more important things to be settled than the transitory issues which seem to absorb the souls of our Congress and our Legislatures.

A good article on Woman Suffrage has these periods:

We demand Suffrage for women. Primarily as of right. Secondly for its uses.

What good will Woman's Suffrage do for the women? is the frequent inquiry of men. Not the least in life perhaps. Which answer, if true, demolishes male Suffrage at a blow. Suffrage is either valuable or valueless. If valueless, why cling so pertinaciously to its exercise? If a precious privilege, vital to the saving health of the nation, wherefore withhold it from one half the people. Utility, however, is not the main issue in the adjustment of rights. It is for you to give me my own; for me to do as I will with my own.

The enterprising proprietors of the Weekly have spacious offices for its use at 21 Park Row, and the friends of human progress, especially of woman's advancement and elevation, cannot but wish them a success commensurate with their highest expectations and hopes.

P. P.

THE UNIVERSAL CLOTHES WRINGERS.—It gives us pleasure to call special attention to the "Universal Clothes Wringer." We have had it fairly tested, and are therefore able to speak of it with confidence, as an article of real and substantial merit, which only needs to be known to become what its name imports, "Universal" in its use and in the approval with which it shall be received.—N. Y. Christian Advocate.

ANNIVERSARY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued.)

WEDNESDAY—MORNING SESSION.

Mr. Tilton opened the meeting by reading the following resolutions, which he presented for Mrs. Laura Curtis Bullard:

Whereas, A conference was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, April 5, called for the purpose of considering the expediency of a union by the two existing Associations for Woman's Enfranchisement.

Whereas, A plan of union was proposed by that Conference to the two aforesaid Associations, to be acted upon at their annual meeting, namely, by the "National" in May, and by the "American" in November of the current year; and

Whereas, This plan in its substance was, after full discussion, unanimously approved by the National Association, at Apollo Hall, New York, May 10, 1870, resulting in the merging of that organization with the Union Woman Suffrage Society; and

Whereas, We earnestly solicit and will cordially welcome the co-operation of the American Woman Suffrage Association to this plan of Union; therefore,

Resolved, That a Committee of seven be appointed by the Chair to confer with the American Woman Suffrage Association at its annual meeting in November, either in person or by letter, and the same are hereby empowered to make any such changes, either in the name, the constitution, or the officers of the Union Woman Suffrage Society, as shall be agreed upon jointly by that Committee and the American Woman Suffrage Association, with a view to the harmonizing of all the friends of Woman Suffrage in our national organization.

The resolutions were adopted.

Mrs. Stanton, with a few remarks, offered the following:

Resolved, That the late trial and decision of the McFarland case, like that of Coles and Sickles, is a virtual declaration that man may hold property in woman, creating a public sentiment that is in its working a practical Fugitive Slave law for women, saying that no friendly hands shall dare, at the risk of life and reputation, to feed, shelter, or clothe the unhappy wives of depraved men under any circumstances whatever.

Mrs. Stanton said that the very highest orders of women everywhere believed in Suffrage. It wasn't an idiosyncrasy of a few minds. She thought that the result of the McFarland trial proved the necessity of a change in the divorce laws.

The resolution was received with a hearty good will by the audience.

Mrs. Lockwood presented a paper advocating equal pay for all employees of the government.

Mrs. Blake presented a petition for the same thing and several resolutions which were adopted:

Whereas, The United States government, in the employment of persons in its service discriminates against women, in that men are paid invariably a much larger amount of money than is paid women for the same character of service rendered; and

Whereas, There is now pending in the House of Representatives a bill introduced by the Hon. Samuel M. Arnell, entitled a bill to do justice to the female employees of the government, and for other purposes; therefore,

Resolved, That Congress is urgently requested to make said bill a law as speedily as possible, that thereby a great wrong may cease to be inflicted upon the women of America—hundreds of whom as the mothers, widows, daughters, and sisters of noble men who gave their lives to their country in its hour of darkness and need are now laboring in the employ of government for half pay, to support families and friends made destitute by the loss of husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, while defending the government.

Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and resolutions be sent to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, that the same may be submitted to each branch of Congress.

Miss Jennie Collins, of Mass., drew a vivid picture of the miserable fate of woman, who cannot make a living out of her earnings, but is driven into sin. All arguments, she added, in favor of Woman's Suffrage are superfluous.

The time demanded the concession, and the concession must come. She only told people what women would do when they had the right to vote.

The Committee on Nominations reported the list of officers of the new Society:

President—Theodore Tilton.

Vice-Presidents—Martha C. Wright, N. Y.; Clara Barton, D. C.; Isabella Beecher Hooker, Conn.; Sarah Pugh, Penn.; John Neal, Maine; Phoebe W. Cozzens, Mo.; Samuel E. Sewall, Mass.; Madame Anneke, Wis.; Mary Spaulding, Ga.; Parker Pillsbury, N. H.; Attorney-General O'Connor, Iowa; Mrs. R. C. Knowlton, Ala.; T. V. Tunstall, Texas; Mrs. Judge Doggett, Fla.; Mrs. John C. Underwood, Va.; Helen K. Starrett, Kansas; James W. Stillman, R. I.; Robert G. Ingersoll, Ill.; Mrs. Robert Dale Owen, Ind.; M. Adele Hazlett, Mich.; Mrs. James M. Scovill, N. J.; Mrs. Gen. McCook, Colorado; Myra Clarke Gaines, Louisiana; Emily Pitts Stevens, California; Anne Frances Pillsbury, S. C.; Mrs. Esther Hobart Morris (Justice of the Peace), Wyoming; Mrs. James M. Ashley, Montana; Mrs. Curry, Kentucky; Mrs. Dandore, Md.; Emma Farrand, Vt.; Richard Mott, Ohio.

Corresponding Secretary—Charlotte B. Wilbour.

Recording Secretary—Robert T. Hallock, M.D.

Treasurer—John J. Merritt.

Auditors—Hon. C. B. Waite, Hon. John Hooker, Hon. J. P. Root, Kansas.

Executive Committee—Edwin A. Studwell, Chairman; Josephine S. Griffing, Washington, D. C.; Frances Minor, St. Louis, Mo.; Laura C. Lullard, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Paulina Wright Davis, Providence, R. I.; Francis D. Moulton, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Susan B. Anthony, N. Y.; Lillie Peckham, Milwaukee, Wis.; Samuel Bowler, Mass.; Mrs. Livermore, Jackson, Mich.; Stephen M. Griswold, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Kate N. Doggett, Chicago, Ill.; Charles Beardsley, Burlington, Iowa; Dr. T. J. H. Keckeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; Sue L. Smith, Va.

Mrs. Minor, of St. Louis, made a short address urging the friends to greater activity, which seemed to impress all with her own interest in, and devotion to, the objects of the meeting. The meeting then adjourned to meet at 8 p.m.

EVENING SESSION.

Mr. Tilton introduced Mrs. Colby, of Washington, who declared that woman must find some honorable way to put money in her pocket. She spoke severely of the Census Superintendent, and with emphasis asserted that Mr. Walker's decision must be revoked.

Miss Sue L. Smith, of Va., reported the organization of a Woman's Suffrage Society in Richmond. She paid high tribute to Mrs. Gage for her recent efforts there. She invited women who could lecture to come to Virginia and work. Miss Smith read some resolutions advocating the ideas given above, which were carried.

Mr. Tilton introduced the Sybian Sybil, Sojourner Truth. She thought it was a shame that the women should be begging for a thing that belongs to them, the right to vote. Woman is the very thing that ought to have all rights. If she doesn't have 'em, how are her sons and daughters to know about their rights, I'd like to know? I don't want children to be saying as they do to their mothers, "You're nothing but a woman! What do you know!" They learn it from their fathers. What kind of men will they make, I'd like to know? Man has no right to make a booby of himself. Let him take care of the children himself. Some of 'em ain't good for nothing else!"

Sojourner wanted to be reported in a grammatical and smooth way, "not as if I was saying tickety-ump-ump-nicky-nacky." "Only a few years more," she concluded, "and we'll enter into Congress, and then, men, you'll get your right place. You've never had it yet. We'll have women lawyers, and your old brandy-nosed pettifoggers will have to 'get out of the

way. If they don't like it, they'll have to lump it."

Mrs. Davis announced the Decade meeting to be held in Philadelphia next autumn chiefly in memory of Mrs. John Stuart Mill, and invited every one to be present.

Mrs. Griffing thought that the press was insane, Congress was insane. [Dr. Hallock—"Idiotic."] She thought woman was the property of man. * * * The prisons in Washington were a disgrace to the nation.

The names of the Committee appointed to confer with the A. W. S. A. were then read as follows: Mrs. L. C. Bullard, Mrs. Martha C. Wright, Miss Sarah Pugh, S. C. Pomeroy, Mrs. Wilbour, Mattie Griffiths Brown, F. E. Abbott. The name of Theodore Tilton was added to the list, which was accepted by the Convention. Mr. Tilton announced, that they had sent fraternal salutations to the other Convention, and read the letter in which those salutations were conveyed.

Mrs. Griffing, of Washington, thought that the people did not want Congress to do its whole duty on many questions. The courts, the government, the laws and customs made woman a vassal, and these meetings were the hope of the oppressed. The women clerks in the department were praying for the success of this meeting. Mrs. Griffing is one of the women who has earned the right to free speech by her practical work for the oppressed of both sexes.

Miss Anthony said in reference to the invitation to "stump" in Virginia, that it was the first call from the south for missionaries. She wanted a hearty response. She wanted, also, that every one of the fashionable resorts should be visited this summer. They should carry the war into Africa. She invited all the friends of Woman Suffrage in the world to the Academy of Music in Philadelphia.

WEDNESDAY—EVENING SESSION.

Mrs. L. D. Blake was the first speaker for the evening. She said that she intended to speak on the general righteousness of the Suffrage cause. The denial of the Suffrage was outrageous in principle, false and cruel, and an insult to a glorious Republic. In everything women were held equal to man, except in the power to wield the ballot. Thieves were treated alike, without distinction of sex. Mrs. Blake called upon all who felt for the slave to feel for the women in bondage.

Mrs. Mary Joslyn Gage read an able essay, showing that women were becoming celebrated as inventors. She spoke of Semiramis, who invented a military engine and gained a husband. She also invented tubular tunnels. Isis was the first bread maker. Inoculation started among the ladies of a Turkish harem. Mrs. Greene invented the cotton-gin. Whitney only did as she directed him. She stated that God seldom made mistakes. Women had invented all kinds of wearing apparel, mentionable or unmentionable.

Mrs. Martin exhorted to faithfulness and courage.

Mr. Tilton read the communications between himself and Mr. Beecher as follows:

MR. TILTON TO MR. BEECHER, GREETING.

NEW YORK, May 11, 1870.

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER, President American Woman Suffrage Association:

HONORED SIR: I am commissioned by the unanimous voice of "The Union Woman's Suffrage Society," now assembled in Apollo Hall, to present to you, and through you to the association over which you are presiding in Steinway Hall, our friendly salutation, our hearty good

will, and our sincere wishes for mutual co-operation in the great cause of woman's enfranchisement.

Fraternally yours,
THEODORE TILTON,
President of the Union Woman's Suffrage Society.

MR. BEECHER TO MR. TILTON.

NEW YORK, May 11, 1870.

THEODORE TILTON, President of the Union Woman's Suffrage Society:

DEAR SIR: Your letter of congratulation was received with great pleasure by the Mass Convention assembled in Steinway Hall, under the auspices of the American Suffrage Association, and I am instructed, by their unanimous vote, to express their pleasure to reciprocate your sentiments of cordial good-will.

In the great work upon which you have entered, the enfranchisement of woman, we have a common interest and aim, and we shall rejoice at every success which is achieved by your zeal and fidelity.

I am truly yours,
HENRY WARD BEECHER,
President of Convention.

Enthusiastic cheering followed the reading of these letters.

Mrs. Hazlett, of Mich., came forward and said she felt that all the arguments presented were very able though not at all necessary.

She had faith to believe that five years from now would find Horace Greeley proclaiming triumphantly that his wife was among the first to sign a petition for equal rights. The house came down at the conclusion of her long and most eloquent address, and Mr. Tilton was obliged to wait some time before he could be heard, for the cheers. At last he was allowed speech, but at his first sentence the applause recommenced. He stated that Mrs. Hazlett was a candidate for Lyceum honors, and he wished the audience, who had been so well entertained, to send to Michigan, her native state, a token of their appreciation of its daughter's lecturing talent. This was also received rapturously, and Mrs. Hazlett returns to her state laden with well-earned honors and brilliant laurels.

Mr. Tilton then endeavored to fill his promise made in the afternoon by presenting Mrs. Stanton. Mrs. Stanton had left for a moment, but during the uproar raised by mention of her name, Miss Anthony stepped forward, amid the renewed cheers of the audience. The President stepped forward again, and explained that Miss Anthony was but an important half of Mrs. Stanton, so amid roars of laughter Miss A. explained her business. She wanted to tell those present where the REVOLUTION OFFICE was now situated.

Mrs. Leggett spoke in favor of a Sixteenth Amendment.

Miss Anthony strenuously advocated the holding of conventions this summer in "all the fashionable watering places—Saratoga, Newport, everywhere. Last summer we captivated Saratoga and Newport. We captured—what did I say?" (Laughter.)

Mr. Tilton—I can bear witness, as I was present on that occasion when Miss Anthony *captivated* Newport.

Miss Anthony—In New York there are thousands of fashionable women who wouldn't think of coming to this Convention. But in those watering places the lack of entertainment would bring them to us. Miss A. mentioned several plans of work for the Executive Committee, and advocated the holding of a semi-annual meeting in the West. She wanted everybody to attend the Decade Meeting at the Philadelphia Academy of Music, and said that if the managers of that building still excluded colored people they would not have it. She declared that THE REVOLUTION was going to live, in spite of the fact that two men were managing this society!

Mrs. Stanton was introduced and gave a

few practical suggestions as to what should be done. All the colleges in the land should be open to woman. It was stuff to inquire if women had not brains enough to study law. Columbia and Cornell must be opened to educate the girls for the great future of the nation. And so must be every institution. Women were soon to take their share in the country's legislation.

With the blessing of peace and good will from the lips of the President, the meeting adjourned.

MISTAKE CORRECTED.—The National Woman Suffrage Association at their meeting in New York this week, failing to unite with the American Association, joined itself to the Fifth Avenue Woman Suffrage Society, and took the name of the "Union Woman Suffrage Society," of which Theodore Tilton was elected President. Their anniversary was held at Apollo Hall, while the American Association met at Steinway Hall. At the latter Beecher presided, and Freeman Clarke, Lucy Stone, Mr. Beecher, Mrs. Livermore and others spoke, while the former has Clara Barton, Samuel E. Sewall and Parker Pillsbury among its officers.

The Boston *Commonwealth*, in the above, mistakes about a "Fifth Avenue Woman Suffrage Society." There was no society formed at the Fifth Avenue Hotel Conference, held on the sixth of April, but only a proposal made to the two then existing national societies to unite into one under a new constitution embracing the important elements of both the old, a form of which was submitted and a board of officers named (not nominated), as specimen, but nothing more. The National Woman Suffrage Association at its anniversary last week adopted unanimously the proposal made at the Fifth Avenue Conference and Theodore Tilton was elected President, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony both positively declining in his favor and advocating his election. It now remains to be seen what the American Woman Suffrage Society will do at its annual meeting which occurs next November. The meeting last week was only a convention, not an anniversary of the association.

Mr. TILTON, writing in the Brooklyn *Union* on the day after the great meeting at the Academy of Music, held by the Brooklyn Equal Rights Association, made, in the course of his article, two remarks which we thought our readers would be glad to see.

The first is this:

How often does it happen that an audience is held spell-bound till half-past ten o'clock at night by the speeches of men? Let any fair-minded critic compare the meeting of "The American Congregational Union" on Thursday evening with the meeting of "The Brooklyn Equal Rights Association" last evening—the one addressed exclusively by men, and the other addressed almost entirely by women—and ask himself which of these two occasions developed the greater intellectual power, the finer literary skill, and the heartier popular interest? Who will not say that the women bore off the palm?

The other remark is this:

The speech of the evening was by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of whom it is not too much to say that by seniority of commission in the cause, by a life-long constancy of personal devotion to her principles, and by an intellectual breadth and brilliancy such as we have never seen in any other woman, stands to-day the ablest representative of her sex in America.

NORTHWESTERN WOMAN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.—The friends of women's right to the elective franchise, on equal terms with men, in the Northwestern States, are invited to meet at Farwell Hall, in Chicago, on Wednesday, the 25th day of May, 1870, at 10 o'clock, a.m., to

organize a Northwestern Woman's Franchise Association, and to adopt measures for canvassing those states in behalf of Woman Suffrage. Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota, and the Territories of Colorado and Wyoming, are understood as included in the Call.

THE LABOR REFORM LEAGUE.—It meets in Mercantile Hall, Summer st., Boston, on Sunday, May 22d, at 10 a.m.; and continues through Monday and Tuesday the 23d and 24th, day and evening.

"Are Trades Unions, as now organized, beneficial to the Laboring Classes?" "Is Special Legislation, to reduce the Hours of Labor, Expedient?" "Is Speculative Gain in the form of Rent, Interest and Profit or Dividends, Theft?" "Ought the National War Debt to be Repudiated?" and other questions, will be discussed. John Orvis, Albert Brisbane, Jennie Collins, Wm. Denton, E. H. Heywood, Mrs. E. L. Daniels, J. G. Blanchard, Mrs. Jennie Patterson S. P. Cummings, S. S. Foster, E. M. Chamberlin, John Caruthers, E. D. Linton, P. A. Collins and others are expected.

ANNIVERSARY PROCEEDINGS.—Next week the Annual Report will be in THE REVOLUTION and some of the excellent letters sent to the meeting.

THE LIBERAL CHRISTIAN.—It appeared last week in an entirely new dress and outfit second perhaps to none in the city. Its editorial department is under the guidance of Rev. J. B. Harrison. The *Liberal Christian* aims to be true to its name, evidently acknowledging no authority but truth, and dealing with all social, political, theological and religious questions as the objects require which they seek to secure. It has able correspondents, each individually responsible, and not the paper which has a responsibility peculiarly, but only its own. Its price is three dollars a year in advance. Mr. J. N. Hallock is its Business Manager, his address, Box 6695, New York.

MADAM MURIO-CELLI, graduate of the "Musical Conservatoire" and Prima Dona in the Grand Opera of Paris, will, with her pupils, give an Operatic entertainment on the 26th inst., at Allemania Hall, 18 E. 16th st.

The performance will be led by Madam M. C., and will consist of chosen acts from "Traviata," "Lucia De Lamermoor," and "Rigoletto."

Tickets \$1 each, to be obtained at her residence, 125 E. 17th st., and at the door.

"SUBURBAN HOMES."—Under that title, the Erie Railway Company have published an interesting work, descriptive of the country adjacent to the line of the Eastern Division and Branches of their road and the Northern Railroad of New Jersey, with a statement of the inducements offered for the purchase of a suburban residence in the rich valleys of the Hackensack or Passaic, the healthful mountain region of the Ramapo, or the fields of Orange County. By those who may desire to inspect land in the section treated of, with a view to purchase, copies of the book may be obtained free of charge at the office of the General Passenger Agent, Erie Railroad Co., New York.

AMERICAN WOMANHOOD.—Every person who is interested in human progress, and who desires to see the women of the republic improve in

health, in knowledge, in personal and political freedom, and in character, will find this volume full of instruction. The author discusses "The Woman Question" from a standpoint which is new, and offers suggestions which are likely to make wide and permanently good impressions. It cannot fail to have a very extensive circulation. See advertisement.

SUNDAY EXCURSION.—The Erie Railway Company now run a Special Sunday Train for the accommodation of excursionists and residents along the Line; leaving 23d st., at 8.15 a.m., Chambers st., at 8.30 a.m., Jersey City at 8.45 a.m., and running thorough to Middletown, stopping at all way Stations, and arriving at a few minutes past noon. The same Train, returning, leaves Middletown at 4.00 p.m., makes the same stoppages as before, and reaches New York at 7.25 p.m.

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ORDEAL OF LIFE, graphically illustrated in the experiences of 1,500 individuals, drawn from all nations, religions, classes and conditions of men, arranged alphabetically and given psychometrically through the mediumship of Dr. John C. Grimmon in presence of the compiler Thomas R. Hazard, Price 50 cents. Boston, *Banner of Light* office; New York, 116 Nassau st. Eminently a spiritual book, but Mr. Hazard's name is guarantee at least for its integrity.

The Pictorials last week, in illustrations, left nothing to be desired. Appleton's *Journal*, *Harpers' Weekly* and *Bazar*, both by the Harpers; New York and *Every Saturday* by Field's, Osgood & Co., Boston, are making their pictures better this spring than heretofore.

BRAINERD'S MUSICAL WORLD is another Magazine less than Howe's in size and price, very prettily gotten up and sold at 10 cents single—\$1.00 a year.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD for May numbers twenty articles of more or less merit, making on the whole a month's miscellaneous reading of interest, some of it of a good deal of interest to more than the mere membership of the Roman Catholic church. The office of the *Catholic World* and the Catholic Publication Society's Bookstore, has been removed to No. 9 Warren st., and nearly opposite the City Hall.

APPLETON's for 21 May continues its serials, but has less of illustration and interesting miscellany than usual, which it can now and then afford better than most magazines of its kind. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$4.00 a year.

DEMOREST'S MONTHLY for June is ablaze with summer fashions, but Jennie June's Talk with women is worth the whole of them. Would Jennie but talk Suffrage to them sometimes—but perhaps she can't, or mustn't. Still it will be a fashion soon, bigger than chignons or panniers. There is a little Demorest, too, called *Young America*, very popular with the juveniles, abounding with pictures and pretty things. Demorest, 838 Broadway, N. Y.

DEFENCE OF REV. S. M. LANDIS, M. D., for publishing a book treating of the laws and mysteries of generation, by Damon Y. Kilgore, Esq. Published by the first Progressive Christian Church of Philadelphia. Price 10

cents. Dr. Landis may be a bad man, his book may be a bad book and his motive for publishing it may have been of the most sensual and sordid character possible. I know nothing of either, but the court failed utterly, tee-totally to prove one of these things and yet it fined the doctor \$500 and sent him to the County Prison for the term of one year and there he now suffers. On the face of it, in every phase of it, the case seems one of cold blooded persecution, and most likely history will so register it.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH for May is more interesting than usual, and not less instructive and important. Rev. George H. Hepworth and Prof. Huxley are contributors. New York: Wood & Holbrook, 15 Laight st. \$2 a year.

Financial Department.

[Under this head, correspondents are responsible for their own sentiments, and not THE REVOLUTION.]

THE WEALTH OF A NATION.

THE wealth of a nation is usually supposed to be its coin or convertible means or purchasing ability; or, taking a more extended view of it, of its farms, cities, commerce, manufactures, railroads, etc., representing a surplus wealth or accumulated industry costing so many dollars and cents.

These are items of wealth as far as they go. But there are others which seem to me of greater importance that are not so generally considered. Among these may be stated. 1st. The fertility of its soil. 2d. Salubrity of its climate. 3d. Its geographical formation, admitting of cheap and easy communication facilitating trade and commerce. 4th. Its geographical formation and abundance of iron, stone, clay, etc., with forests of timber and other materials for cheap manufacturers. 5th. Its abundance of coal or water power for cheap motors. 6th. The industry and intelligence of its people.

Our country possesses all these elements to a remarkable extent. Nature toiled for almost interminable ages to produce ready to hand all the materials necessary to make of us a great, wealthy and powerful people; and if we add to her exertions a wisdom and industry that we ought to possess, we shall realize the utmost extent of human greatness. Hence it becomes our people to carefully review their situation and study out the best means both for creating and enjoying these blessings.

We present a curious medley of apparently discordant elements from Europe, Asia and Africa, but happily for us our institutions are so framed as to harmonize the interests of all and draw out of each their greatest capacities, so that although our people are composed almost wholly of the lowest and most ignorant of the menials who fled with empty hands from Europe to escape the tyranny of its church and state despotisms, or were torn from Africa and sold into slavery, we have discovered the means of using all to such advantage that in less than a century we have increased from a feeble handful skirted along the Atlantic warring with the savages upon the one side and with a powerful nation on the other, to a great and wealthy nation spanning a continent, and from a state of destitution have created splendid cities, beautiful farms, vast net works of railroads, manufactures and commerce almost without end, and now are progressively expanding in every department of thought and action with a rapidity that astonishes mankind.

These successes demonstrate what industry, unshackled and free to enjoy the fruits it creates,

can do. But vast as our achievements have already been, they seem to me scarcely dust in the balance of what we might do were our energies and capacities fully aroused and a proper use made of them, and which wise legislation might bring out.

When we look back and consider the means which we have used,—the tools we have worked with, our success appears the more wonderful. The road we have travelled has been full of stones and stumbling-blocks, and we have groped our way blindly through or over them. Europe has, with her cheap capital, skill and knowledge of trade, had vastly better opportunities than ourselves for success, had not her energies been crushed by the load of priests, soldiers, beggars and aristocrats that have eaten out her substance.

Cheap capital is an immense advantage to Europe. Why cannot we have it, too? Why should money be worth more than two or three per cent. with us? Simply because we fail to use the elements of wealth we possess. If we made our government debt, railroads, farms and manufactures securities for credit, which might be easily done, it would make capital so cheap that money could be had at almost any rate and the advantages would then be with the borrower instead of the lender.

Let us consider the advantages of cheap capital upon the industry of our people and wealth of our nation. If two hours per day of labor will support each individual, and we can stimulate them to work ten, twelve or sixteen, we are piling up wealth rapidly. People will willingly do this, if only permitted to enjoy the fruits of their toil. They are never so happy as when busy and making money, nor so wretched as when idle and heavily taxed. "An idle brain is the devil's workshop!" Hence on the score of morals as well as of greatness we should encourage industry. Let every man have a palace if he can create it, and clothe himself in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day if he can do so honestly. By using their industry and drawing out their capacities this can all be done. Industry is then really the most important item of wealth a nation possesses, and should be wisely encouraged. Let Congress see that the people have plenty of cheap and good tools to work with, and it will find something will soon be accomplished.

Our country is soon destined to lead all the nations of the earth in great ideas of politics, finance, social economy and wealth. We are rapidly showing up the fallacies of the fossilized ideas of the Old World upon all these subjects. We occupy a new and loftier stand-point of observation when we can better comprehend the puerile and grovelling tendencies of its systems and creeds, and that to attain our "destiny" we must adopt and maintain new and bolder reformations than the world has ever yet witnessed.

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From 23d st.	From Chambers st.	
6:45 a. m.	6:45 a. m.	For Paterson.
7:45 a. m.	8:00 a. m.	Express Mail, for Buffalo, Dunkirk, Cleveland and the west; also connects for Newburg, Warwick, Montgomery, Unionville and Honesdale. Sleeping coaches attached from Susquehanna to Buffalo.
8:15 a. m.	8:30 a. m.	Way Train, daily for Grey-court and intermediate stations west of Passaic Bridge; connects at Goshen for Pine Island, Montgomery and Guilford.
8:15 a. m.	8:30 a. m.	Special Sunday Train for Middletown and intermediate stations.
8:45 a. m.	9:00 a. m.	For Hackensack and Hillsdale; also for Piermont and Monsey.
9:45 a. m.	10:00 a. m.	Day Express for Rochester, Buffalo, Dunkirk, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and the West and South.
		Superb Drawing Room Coaches accompany this train from New York to Buffalo. Sleeping Coaches are attached at Hornellsville, running through to Cleveland and Gallon for the accommodation of Western and Southern travellers respectively.
10:15 a. m.	10:15 a. m.	For Paterson.
11:15 a. m.	11:30 a. m.	For Port Jervis and way, daily; connects at Middletown for Unionville.
11:45 a. m.	12:00 m.	For Paterson; also for Hackensack and Hillsdale.
12:45 p. m.	1:00 p. m.	For Piermont and Monsey.
1:45 p. m.	1:45 p. m.	For Paterson, daily.
2:15 p. m.	2:15 p. m.	For Hackensack.
3:15 p. m.	3:30 p. m.	Newburg Express, stopping only at Paterson and stations north of Junction. to Newburg.
3:15 p. m.	3:30 p. m.	Middletown Way. Also for Piermont.
3:45 p. m.	4:00 p. m.	For Paterson; also for Hackensack and Hillsdale.
4:15 p. m.	4:15 p. m.	For Piermont and Monsey.
4:15 p. m.	4:30 p. m.	Orange County Express, stopping only at Turner's and stations west of Turner's (except Oxford) to Port Jervis. Connects for Newburg, Warwick, Montgomery, Guilford, Pine Island and Unionville.
4:45 p. m.	5:00 p. m.	Suffern Accommodation, stopping only at Paterson and stations west of Paterson. Also for Piermont and Monsey.
5:15 p. m.	5:15 p. m.	For Paterson and Hackensack.
5:15 p. m.	5:30 p. m.	Night Express, for Buffalo, Dunkirk, Cleveland, Cincinnati and the West and South.
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		Way Train, for Suffern and intermediate stations. Also for Hackensack and Hillsdale.
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6:45 p. m.	6:45 p. m.	For Paterson and Hackensack and intermediate stations.
7:15 p. m.	7:30 p. m.	Emigrant Train, Daily, for the West.
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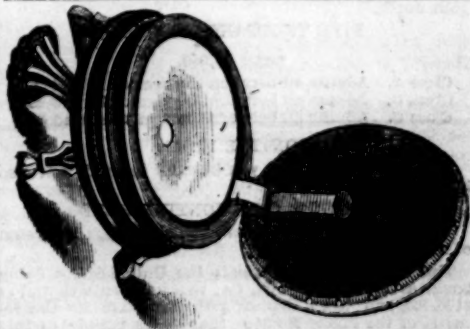
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